

The ART Quarterly



Summer, 1956



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The ART Quarterly

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On cover: *Paul Cézanne, The Boy in the Red Waistcoat, The Museum of Modern Art, New York*

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Fig. 1. BERNARDO PARENTINO, *Temptation of St. Anthony*
Rome, Doria Pamphilj Gallery

SOME GRÜNEWALD SOURCES

By CHARLES D. CUTTLER

No one acquainted with Grünewald's *Temptation of St. Anthony*, the climactic, overwhelming culmination of the Isenheim Altarpiece, has failed to be overcome by its dramatic conflict and emotional intensity (Fig. 2). The bibliography of reactions to its intensity and fervor is long and varied. Curiously, its iconography has been little investigated and no study exists today which explains the various influences upon it or the sources from which it was derived. There is only Wilhelm Rolfs' article of 1920 for the student to fall back upon, and even this cites only a close parallel rather than a specific source.¹ Zülch's monumental work of 1938 added nothing where the *Temptation of St. Anthony* panel is concerned, merely repeating the parallel suggested by Rolfs.² That parallel is Bernardo Parentino's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Doria Gallery, Rome (Fig. 1). Parentino's place in the Italian sun has long been overcast by the shadow of his master Mantegna, and rightly so. He was capable, but one cannot consider him as painter, designer or innovator on the same level as his illustrious master. Adolfo Venturi even went so far as to consider him as having received a training in miniature illumination, a conclusion of some weight for this study.³ Parentino's *Temptation of St. Anthony* presents one of the rare instances of its appearance in Italian art of the late fifteenth century. It was far from popular in Italian painting after the decline of the Sienese school, and the few examples which can be cited in the second half of the Quattrocento are to be found chiefly in the comparatively minor arts of woodcut and engraving. Leading Italian painters were not interested in a theme which had such strong, transcendental aspects. The same, however, cannot be said of the North where the Temptations of St. Anthony were extremely popular during the fifteenth century, the acme of his appearances in artistic works. One has only to call to mind representations in the art of the leading French and Flemish painters and miniaturists, as the Limbourg, the Boucicaut and Rohan Masters, Marmion, the Master of Mary of Burgundy, and above all Hieronymus Bosch, to find evidence of the appeal of the theme of the devilish torments undergone by the Egyptian saint.⁴ It appears frequently in German single woodcuts

and incunabula, while Schongauer's representation impressed even Michelangelo.¹ Grünewald certainly was not alone in Germany in portraying the Temptation of the saint; Dürer and Cranach also treated the theme, and contributed to Grünewald's passionate and terrifying interpretation. This circumstance has not received comment by past writers.

St. Anthony was born at Coma, Egypt, in 251. The son of wealthy Christians, shortly after their death he gave away his inheritance to lead a pious life according to Matt. xix.21. His exemplary life was soon disturbed by devilish temptations of many sorts; even further to shake his resolve the Devil assumed, though unsuccessfully, the most seductive feminine form. Anthony then left his village to live in the tombs nearby, and there underwent the famous temptation so frequently represented in art and literature.² Anthony endured other temptations during his lifetime but none so spectacular. His exemplary life led to a gathering about him of like-minded men whose spiritual leader he became reluctantly; however, he often fled their company to live in solitude. Dying at the age of 105, he was buried in a hidden grave by two disciples. It is due to St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria and friend of the saint, that the details of Anthony's life are known. His account was translated from Greek into Latin by Evagrius not later than the summer of 374. When incorporated into the *Vitae patrum*, that collection of lives of the Egyptian fathers wrongly attributed *in toto* to St. Jerome, it became the chief source for knowledge of Anthony in the Western world. The meeting of Anthony and Paul, in Jerome's life of Paul the Hermit, is also found in the *Vitae patrum*.³ It too furnished artists with subject matter, for the breaking by the two saints of the miraculous loaf daily brought to Paul the Hermit by a raven was represented by medieval artists because of its Eucharistic symbolism; it is found from the Ruthwell Cross down the centuries to Velasquez' magnificent painting in the Prado Museum.

The *Vitae patrum*, one of the most popular of medieval books, was a loose and variable compilation concerned with the lives and sayings of the early Egyptian desert fathers. The importance of this "anthology" of accounts of early monasticism lies not merely in its function as chief medieval source for knowledge of the lives of the fathers, but also in its dissemination of medieval monasticism's austere and moral outlook. An integral and influential part of this compilation, the *Vita Antonii* passed into Christian literature to exert through its form and content a strong influence on early church writings.⁴

Athanasius' account provided the source for the life of Anthony as it ap-

peared in martyrologies, liturgical legendaries, instructional books for leading the proper monastic life, and prose popularizations for preachers and laity. The account is found in Vincent of Beauvais' great *Speculum historiale* (Bk. XIV, ch. 91-93), and was further disseminated in Jean de Vignai's translation of Vincent's work. His translation, which appeared in 1348, of the *Legenda aurea* was of even greater importance in spreading knowledge of Anthony among the laity. The immensely popular *Legenda aurea* added nothing, however, for it merely abbreviated the original Athanasian account. Only after 1342 are there important additions to the corpus of Antonite legend. These appear later in incunabula, as well as in manuscripts.

As an account of the search of the individual for a way to God, the *Vita Antonii* was a strong instrument in the growth of monasticism. However, Anthony's monasticism was not popular in medieval times. It was too individualistic. Few men had alone the strength of the Egyptian hermit; they sought that strength in a common life which was yet separate. Inherently socialistic, medieval monasticism formed itself on the Rule of Benedict which derived eventually from the organized form of Egyptian monasticism represented by the Rule of Pachomius. Anthony thus represented an ideal, an inspiration to monks everywhere, yet an ideal too austere, too distant and difficult for achievement and therefore limited in any wide spread of appeal to imitation.

Literary knowledge of Anthony existed in Europe from early days. As a young man Augustine was greatly impressed with his life and example, and he was only one of many. The other side of this coin, the collection of relics, also made an early appearance, for some are recorded as early as 696-698 at the abbey church at Echternach.⁹ Relics were claimed at S. Riquier, Centula in 790,¹⁰ at Freckenhorst in 861,¹¹ at Bruges, Antwerp, Tournai, Rome, and so on through the Medieval period.¹² Now Anthony's remains had been discovered in the Thebaide about 529 and moved to the church of St. John the Baptist in Alexandria. A second translation of his relics took place in 704 when they were moved to Constantinople.¹³ The date of the last translation to southeastern France, to St. Antoine de Viennois (Isère) by a man called Jocelin, is most uncertain, but it was probably during the second half of the eleventh century, for Pope Urban II, while in France for the council of Clermont of 1095, ordered the relics placed in ecclesiastical hands.¹⁴ Benedictines came from St. Pierre, Montmajour, to establish a priory, hold divine services, and properly honor the saint in a new church consecrated by Calixtus II, March 20, 1119.¹⁵

Friction gradually developed between the Antonite brethren, who had

founded their hospital around the year 1100, and the Benedictines, mainly over the matter of revenue. Not until 1289 was a solution reached of the differences between the Benedictines and the brethren of the hospital, who in 1247 had been elevated by Innocent IV to the rank of regular canons under Augustinian Rule.¹⁶ In the former year, 1289, the sixteenth grand master of the Hospital Order, Aymon de Montagny, was made abbot of the Benedictines. He obtained free and complete possession of the priory from the abbot of Montmajour who, however, almost immediately countermanded his investiture; the angered Aymon organized his forces against this contravention of what he considered his right, entered at night with his adherents and expelled the Benedictine monks, an act of *force majeure* eventually recognized by Boniface VIII in a bull dated from Orvieto, June 10, 1297, wherein the priory of St. Antoine was recognized as independent of the abbey of Montmajour.¹⁷

It is of course the Hospital Order which was responsible for spreading the fame of Anthony, and for his growing popularity in the world outside the monastery. It devoted the greater part of its efforts to cure the disease known as St. Anthony's fire, the *ignis sacer*, which was probably ergotism, a gangrenous disease endemic in medieval Europe, and which came from eating poisoned rye. As a result of the efforts of the Hospital Order, the Black Plague, and the further miseries which beset Europe, Anthony became one of the plague saints, being represented with saints Roch and Sebastian as guardian against the ills of medieval men. The fifteenth century saw Anthony at the peak of his popularity, both in the number of accounts in manuscripts, and in the number of works of art devoted to him; the century also saw the Hospital Order in 1477 in possession of 192 houses or commanderies, of which forty-two were general commanderies.¹⁸ These extended from England and Scotland in the West to Hungary and Acre in the East. Their efforts enabled Anthony and his temptations to pass from the realm of monasticism to the realm of thaumaturgy and popular acclaim.

As a commissioner of works of art the Hospital Order of St. Anthony is truly outstanding only for the Isenheim Altarpiece. Its early record is not particularly noteworthy, though extremely difficult to judge, particularly when it is remembered that the town and abbey of St. Antoine de Viennois were sacked by the Huguenots in 1562 and 1567. The earliest work attributable directly to the Order is a magnificent illuminated manuscript dated 1426, now in the Public Library of Valletta, Malta.¹⁹ According to the colophon on folio 102 verso the book illustrates a shortened version of the life and



Fig. 3. ROBIN FOURNIER, *Anthony Taunts the Demons*
(Valletta MS. fol. 15v).



Fig. 4. GIACOMO JAQUERO, *Double Temptation of St. Anthony*,
Piedmont, *San' Antonio di Ranverso*



Fig. 2. MATTHIAS GRÜNEWALD, *Temptation of St. Anthony*,
Isenheim Altarpiece. Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden



Fig. 5. Temptation of St. Anthony (MS. 219, fol. 246v)
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery



Fig. 6. Meeting of Paul and Anthony, and Other Scenes, Cologne School
Munich, Alte Pinacothek

legends of the saint, "as they are represented in a certain great linen cloth which brother John Marcellarii, former sacrist of this monastery of St. Antoine de Viennois, compiled and extracted from the legends and life of the said saint. Which book Guigues Robert of Tullins, then claustral prior of the said monastery and praceptor of Ste. Croix had painted and written. . ."²⁰ This fully approved exemplar of the iconography of the saint's temptations derives from a model, the linen cloth, which at the earliest dates from 1403, for Marcellard was subalmoner from 1403-07, and grand sacrist from 1410-17.²¹ Anthony's temptations receive the elaborate treatment one would expect in a *manuscrit de luxe* made for the Order, but their iconography is of such a nature that it can only be concluded that the Order followed artistic tradition. The cloth and the manuscript were influenced by a Sienese model, which by the early years of the fifteenth century dominated the iconography of Anthony's temptations in the Mediterranean countries.²² Robin Fournier of Avignon, illuminator of the Valletta MS., combined the diagonal placement of Anthony characteristic of the Sienese type with a model whose echo appears in the *Byzantine Painter's Guide*.²³ The result in the scenes of demonic drubbing is an extremely awkward placement of a diagonally recumbent Anthony within the casket-tomb demanded by the *Guide*. This is particularly evident on folio 15 verso when Anthony turns to goad the demons on his return to his tomb, which is represented as a diagonally placed rectangular casket placed on the ground (Fig. 3).²⁴ It is obvious that the casket, with or without its lid, is distinctly at variance with the Athanasian text.

Another view of the Order's position in the establishment and spread of Antonite temptation iconography is obtained from frescoes in the choir of what was apparently the oldest of the Antonite commanderies, the abbey church of Sant'Antonio di Ranverso, near Buttigliera Alta, Piedmont (Fig. 4). Painted about 1426 by Giacomo Jaquerio, the attributed date holds out the possibility of iconographic parallels with the Valletta MS.²⁵ Yet this temptation fresco is different in iconography from that seen in the Valletta MS. The casket-tomb is absent even in fragmented form, while the feminine temptation presented within the same frame also differs from Fournier's treatment of the theme. And an encyclopedic painting of about 1500 apparently made for a praceptor of the Antonite Order at Cologne (Fig. 6), though crammed with events from Anthony's life and legend, also shows that no single, established iconographic type was fostered and propagated by the Hospital Order of St. Anthony.²⁶ It presents an aerial temptation with anthropomorphic

demons modeled not on the Valletta MS. but on the Flemish type seen in the work of the Master of Mary of Burgundy. With it has been incorporated the characteristic Sienese diagonal placement of Anthony. Other events in this painting are equally independent of the model represented by the Valletta MS. and the great linen cloth.

Clearly the Hospital Order of St. Anthony had little influence upon representations of its patron's torments. Obviously it possessed models, but it seems that long before the close of the fifteenth century artists were sufficiently free to employ others if they desired. Even the Athanasian account had been altered through "usage" in popular collections such as the translations of the *Legenda aurea* and the *Vitae patrum*. Thus the praceptor of the Isenheim commandery and commissioner of the panels of its famous altarpiece, Guido Guersi, was unrestricted in his choice of models.

Parentino's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Doria Gallery, Rome, has been held up as Grünewald's model for many years. There is a detailed repetition of major compositional devices: the recumbent saint is repeated in almost exact detail, though reversed from left to right; one hand grasps an object at his side, the other is raised to protect his head which is elevated to regard a large mass of demons opposite him; one knee is raised, a demonic hand grasps the uplifted elbow of the saint, a demon behind him pulls at his cloak, another demon behind his head also pulls at it, and his book has been taken from him—these are common elements. A similarity in compositional organization is visible in the opposition of a large mass of demons to the recumbent figure. Parentino, however, placed only a single figure behind Anthony; Grünewald, several. Close examination of this putative model reveals other divergences and elements which cannot be explained on the basis of the Italian model. One portion of the explanation probably lies in the direction of manuscript illumination as Rolfs first suggested.¹⁷ Both Grünewald and Parentino may be assumed to have derived their models from this source, and for both the source was probably Italian since northern Antonite temptation scenes in this field are quite different. That it was Italian may be surmised from a contemporary Florentine woodcut (Fig. 7), which though undated has been considered a product of the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁸ Resembling as it does both the Parentino and Grünewald treatments of the theme, it too must derive from a common source in Italian manuscript illumination. Certainly it cannot be influenced by northern woodcut scenes of Anthony's temptations, for, like northern miniatures, northern woodcuts follow different types and express different ideals.

Insistence upon a relation to manuscript illumination has a validity not merely in theory but also in fact. The motif of a demon in possession of the saint's book, as in Parentino's and Grünewald's works, has its earliest known appearance in a most curious and Italianate manuscript of about 1410, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. On folio 246v. of MS. 219, a demon holding Anthony's book is about to use it as a missile in the general attack upon him (Fig. 5). This miniature is iconographically Italian for it presents the type developed and propagated by Siena, easily recognizable because of Anthony's diagonal placement. Wherever this type appears in the early fifteenth century, Italian influence is certain iconographically, and often stylistically as well. The book motif was taken up later: Parentino's grinning skeleton in the act of tearing out the pages, Grünewald's famous tormentor clutching the girdle book (inherited from Schongauer's standing *Anthony* in the museum in Colmar, and his celebrated engraving of the *Temptation of St. Anthony*),¹⁰ and Bosch's pig-snouted and tonsured skeleton in priestly garb who reads to equally devilish companions at the lower right of the platform in the central panel of the Lisbon Temptation triptych, are all descendants from the Walters Gallery miniature. Now the motif of the book is clearly Italian for it is conspicuously absent from standard northern temptation scenes. In these the saint when shown with his book always holds it in peace, since the demons are never interested in obtaining it for their own use—or misuse. This is true both in northern illuminations and in northern woodcuts which, where Antonite iconography is concerned, stem from northern illuminated manuscripts.¹¹ The pulling of Anthony's beard in the Walters Gallery miniature was transformed in Parentino's and Grünewald's paintings into a slightly less personally offensive motif of back hair and robe pulling. This evidence supports Rolfs' conclusion that Grünewald's iconography did not come to him from Parentino, despite a belief in his training as a miniaturist,¹² but from illuminated manuscripts, and we may add, *Italian* illuminated manuscripts, which were available to both.

For Grünewald's sorely tempted Anthony there are, however, other sources which are definitely northern. Schongauer has already been mentioned as the source for Anthony's girdle book in the possession of the syphilitic demon at the lower left of the Isenheim Temptation panel, and his engraving has often been cited as another source for Grünewald's iconography (Fig. 8). Anthony's aerial temptation as presented by Schongauer has been brought down to earth in the Italian manner, the adopted northern elements being the

encircling organization of the demons about the recumbent Anthony, and their zoömorphic aspect. Grünewald's organization, however, employs not only the circular arrangement of Schongauer but also adds the diagonal arrangement characteristic of the Italian model, the result contributing to the overwhelming effect of this great work.

Schongauer's model, however, does not seem to have weighed too heavily upon Grünewald. There is another important model whose significance has not previously been remarked in print. The influence comes from Lucas Cranach the Elder and is to be found in his woodcut of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* (Fig. 9), signed and dated 1506.¹² Though this woodcut is inspired by Schongauer's engraving—as note the nine major zoömorphic forms in each work—nevertheless there are important changes: Anthony sits erect, and actively engaged in the temptation in contrast to Schongauer's reserved and unconcerned figure; another demonic form sits astride the saint's legs, wields a club and pulls his beard (instead of the Schongauer scarf) as Anthony looks to heaven for aid. The act of elevation is explained logically, as in Schongauer's work, by the presence of the demon beneath the cloak. The almost innumerable demonic forms go far beyond Schongauer in the exploitation of the possibilities of natural forms in unnatural combination. Insects have been furnished wings and hairy bodies, lobsters or crayfish have been furnished claws, a boar's head has been given to the demonic figure at the upper right, apes are suggested as the source for the face immediately to the left and above the head of Anthony, bird and monkey combine in the figure astride Anthony's legs, while the upper left-hand figure combines even more elements: an elongated bird's beak, the neck of a snake with added spikes, a shapeless hairy body and feline claws. To these borrowings from a distorted nature may be added canine faces, the horns of sheep, and—strongly accented—reptilian tails. The additions of landscape, scale setting tree, and cave entrance emphasize the closer tie with nature which characterizes Cranach's conception. Though the 1506 woodcut has a stronger immediacy of effect than Schongauer's engraving, the strong and larger areas of shadow, and the proliferation of demonic forms rob the woodcut of clarity; the result is a greater violence, but also a greater confusion.

Cranach's woodcut had influence. The most marked influence is found in a painting of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne (Fig. 11). This is possibly related to the Cranach milieu despite an awareness by its painter of Grünewald's Isenheim Altarpiece. In its placement



Fig. 7. Temptation of St. Anthony
(Florentine woodcut)



Fig. 8. MARTIN SCHONGAUER,
Temptation of St. Anthony



Fig. 9. LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER,
Temptation of St. Anthony, 1506



Fig. 10. NICOLAUS MANUEL DEUTSCH, *Temptation of St. Anthony*
Bern, Kunstmuseum



Fig. 11. *Temptation of St. Anthony*
Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum

of Anthony the painting follows Cranach's woodcut, the general character of the demonic forms is related to Cranach, and the few trees in the left foreground suggest an inspiration by his woodcut. However, the replacement of Cranach's distant view by the uncommon device of a blank, barren, dark background is strongly reminiscent of the Crucifixion panels of the Isenheim Altarpiece; indeed so strong that the work was once attributed to the non-existent workshop of Grünewald.¹¹ Without question it is derived from both Cranach and Grünewald. Equally derivative, and this time attributed to the "circle of Grünewald," is a drawing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the National Museum, Stockholm (Fig. 13).¹² But Cranach and Bosch form the basis for this; Grünewald is nowhere evident in style or iconography. The position of the saint set on a slight diagonal is an alteration of his position in Cranach's woodcut, and the demonic form with threatening stick astride Anthony's legs is also taken from the same source, while Bosch's influence is visible in the trumpeting demon at the upper right, in the ostrich form without neck or head seen at its right, and in the crablike form at the left directly above the foot of the saint. His influence is also evident in the style. But Cranach had even further influence, as is revealed in Nicolaus Manuel Deutsch's treatment of the *Temptation of St. Anthony*, in the Kunstmuseum, Bern (Fig. 10). It is one of four panels from an altarpiece probably painted for the Antonite church in Bern: the temptation by demons just mentioned, the feminine temptation, the meeting of Paul and Anthony, and a scene of Anthony working miracles. The last two panels are signed and dated 1520. In the demonic temptation, Anthony's horizontal position has been suggested by Cranach's woodcut, as also the overstressed beard-pulling, though the action is performed by a demon covered with sore boils to reveal Nicolaus Manuel as equally indebted to Grünewald, an indebtedness evident in other motifs and other panels, particularly the panel of the meeting of Paul and Anthony with its similar luxuriant foliage.

Of far greater importance than any of the above is the effect of Cranach's woodcut upon the art of Grünewald. There is no slavish copying of iconographic elements, yet an influence upon the famous Temptation panel of the Isenheim Altarpiece is certain. In the adoption—and transformation—of certain motifs can be seen an obvious acquaintance with Cranach's woodcut. The hawklike demon with raised club at the right of Grünewald's composition is a transformation of the figure standing on the legs of Cranach's saint; both hold a raised stick with which they are about to strike, and both are sharp-

beaked figures. The figure to the right of this in Cranach's woodcut has been transformed by Grünewald into the head in line with the foremost part of the saint's ruined abode; in each we find the same frontal view and the same fanlike character. Cranach's boar-headed figure at the upper right furnished the basis for the red-capped figure immediately above Grünewald's hawk, and one of Cranach's flying lizards appears above Anthony's ruined hermitage in Grünewald's painting. There is a suggestive transformation of the head of the figure snatching Anthony's cloak at the left border of the painting, which seemingly is related to the similarly placed demon in the 1506 woodcut—though this relationship cannot be insisted upon with certainty. Those cited immediately above, however, demonstrate beyond any doubt the influence of Cranach's woodcut upon the Temptation panel of the Isenheim Altarpiece.

Further, there is a compositional influence upon Grünewald in the repetition of the encircling organization of the demonic forms, though the transformation results in a return to Schongauer's manner. Cranach had departed slightly from Schongauer's organization to place a stress upon horizontal and vertical lines; Grünewald rejected this "classicizing" tendency to return to the more medieval conceptions of Schongauer, which he then combined with the subordinate diagonal organization of the type seen in Parentino's painting.

The misshapen toad-footed figure covered with sore boils (beautifully painted) in the lower left-hand corner of the Temptation panel suggests by its position an aping and mocking of the saint. Now the frog and the toad have a long history of demonic association in art and literature where they are often related to the sins of magic and witchcraft.¹² In relation to St. Anthony the toad had already appeared in a story popular in print in German incunabula of the translated *Vitae patrum*.¹³ According to the story, Anthony made his living weaving baskets which he sold to infrequent travelers. One day he discovered under one of his baskets a toad, which transformed itself into a beautiful temptress—without success, one may add (Fig. 14). This tale could well have been known to Grünewald, which might account for the webbed foot used to reinforce the evil character of the figure. Holding the girdle-book of the saint, this figure is nude except for a hooded jacket. A close relationship is found between this figure and the woodcut of a syphilitic of 1496 attributed to Dürer (Fig. 12), for both are draped about the shoulders while the body is bare and covered with sores.¹⁴ Such a draped figure, though lacking the syphilitic sores, appears as early as the thirteenth century in a manuscript illustrating cauterization as a remedy for pathological headaches.¹⁵ Later use

of the figure was not so narrowly restricted, which is not difficult to understand when one recalls the medieval tendency to equate mental aberrations and demonic forces. The figure, nude except for shoulder drapery, had by Grünewald's day definitely unsavory connotations.¹³ From the Netherlands comes a woodcut of Hell of about 1482 by Gheraert Leeu (?) (Fig. 15) with a like figure, now blowing upon a trumpet, above the portal to the infernal regions.¹⁴ The short tail of Leeu's figure leaves no doubt of its demonic character. And Hieronymus Bosch presented an almost identically dressed trumpeter on the right wing of his Temptation of St. Anthony triptych in Lisbon. Grünewald probably was acquainted with both the Dürer and Leeu woodcuts. No doubt he drew heavily upon the former in designing his own distinctive and dramatic representation of a syphilitic demon.

Grünewald's transformations have certain parallels in the free interpretation of the Athanasian text, which, on the surface, seem to lack a discernable source, either artistic or literary. New is the vision of God the Father in the sky above, a direct contrast to the vision of Christ authorized by the text and seen as Crucified in Parentino's painting, and even more in contrast to the quotation from the Athanasian account written on the scrap of paper seen at the lower right of the Isenheim panel: "Ubi eras Jhesu bone, ubi eras? Quare non affuisti ut sanares vulnera mea?" Anthony's tomb even in its ruined state is a structure of entirely different aspect from that indicated by the text. The animals of the Athanasian account have been completely transformed. The snakes which figured so prominently in Italian representations of the fifteenth century are also absent. Further, it is noted that above the ruined hut in the background angelic and demonic forms are fighting. The motif in connection with Anthony's temptations is comparatively new, for it had made its initial appearance less than a decade before in Albrecht Dürer's Dresden triptych.¹⁵ In this the Madonna and Child are placed in the central panel while Saints Anthony and Sebastian each occupy a wing. Anthony is on the left wing and Sebastian is on the right, a placement which recurs in the Isenheim Altarpiece. This seeming coincidence of placement becomes highly questionable as *coincidence* when it is noted that behind the half-length figure of Anthony holding his book on the ledge before him, angels fight with demons as an allusion to Anthony's temptations. Conceived in a manner reminiscent of the old medieval combat of the Virtues and the Vices, angelic forms of Italian inspiration, however, combat demons inspired by Schongauer's zoömorphic forms. They present a true conflict of the ideals Dürer attempted to reconcile: Renaissance

humanism and northern transcendentalism. But an acquaintance by Grünewald with Dürer's rendering of Anthony, with its unique allusion to his temptation, becomes an imperative assumption when it is realized that this device of angelic and demonic conflict was apparently an invention of the Nuremberg artist, and occurs *only* in the Dresden and Isenheim Altarpieces (Figs. 16, 17).

Such a conflict of angels and demons would tempt one to equate the demonic forms with the Seven Deadly Sins were it not that Grünewald's saint is surrounded by eleven unholy forms. Further, the absence of those actions which would tie together the struggles in the background and the foreground obviates any attempt to find here a conflict of the Virtues and Vices or the Seven Deadly Sins. This type of contest was in the air in the early sixteenth century, indeed it had never died out, as witness the *Ars moriendi*, but it does not make itself known in the Isenheim work, nor in Dürer's triptych where the contestants are not numerous enough to meet the demands of a revivified *Psychomachia*. Anthony had been presented in conflict with one of the Seven, then Capital, Sins as early as the middle of the thirteenth century when Luxuria accosted him in the windows at Chartres,⁴² and in literature the Sins appeared in concert to tempt him at an early but unknown date. A single surviving mystery play of Provençal origin devoted to Anthony presents the sevenfold assault. Known in a vernacular copy of 1503 the play serves to indicate the usage and treatment of the Antonite theme at that date.⁴³ That it comes from the Dauphiné would suggest knowledge of it by the Order of the Hospitalers of St. Anthony whose seat was there, as well as probable acceptance and approval of its contents. In several scenes Anthony meets temptation in the form of devils; lines 2781-3072 presents the temptations augmented by the Seven Deadly Sins, while lines 3072-3134 see an opportune relief brought by the intervention of angels and God [!], an intervention which occurs again after Anthony has been tempted more terribly than before.⁴⁴ Possibly disseminated by the Antonite Order, such a play becomes a contemporaneous source upon which either Dürer or Grünewald, or both, could have drawn for inclusion in their paintings of angels fighting demons, and upon which Grünewald could have drawn for the unusual substitution of God for Christ. His substitution of a hut for the tomb of the Athanasian account may also be due to the mystery play, which seems to have been presented out of doors without a formal stage.⁴⁵ A rude hut readily torn apart as the action demanded would be an obvious substitution for the more formalized tomb structure of the Athanasian text and with which it is most likely the producers of the play

were far from familiar. Long before the fifteenth century the Egyptian tomb was transformed into a more familiar form if we judge from the many translations into the vernacular of the Latin life of Anthony; he inhabits a *hous*, *habytacyon*, *maison*, *husichin*, *zell*, *spelonk*, *habitaculo*, *hermita*, and the like, but almost never is his residence a tomb. Only the newly translated Italian late fifteenth century printed versions mention *sepulchri antichi*.⁴⁶ It is not unreasonable, therefore, to conclude that Grünewald took from the mystery play the ruined hut instead of the tomb demanded by the text, and from Dürer's triptych the idea of the angelic and demonic conflict. This gave artistic reinforcement to the visual image of the mystery play.

To resolve any remaining doubt of Dürer's influence it is merely needed to turn to the fixed wings of the Isenheim Altarpiece to note again the similar placement of Anthony on the left wing, and Sebastian upon the right.⁴⁷ The conviction that Dürer was Grünewald's source receives further support when attention turns to Sebastian. Only Dürer and Grünewald depart from the normal mode of placing Sebastian against a tree or column with at least one arm tied to it.⁴⁸ Like Dürer's Sebastian, Grünewald's figure extends his hands, but now clasped rather than in prayer. The derivation has been disguised by the elaboration of a setting seemingly borrowed from Dürer's engraving of 1509 of Christ as the Man of Sorrows.⁴⁹ Further disguise came by turning the head away from the movement of the arms, hands, and body. Guido Schoenberger has already pointed out the slight traces of a neck and chin drawn in profile in Grünewald's study for the arms and hands of Sebastian (Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden), and concluded "that the abrupt turn of the head which appears in the painting was not planned when the study was made".⁵⁰ Thus the turning of the head was a later idea which came after the suggestive qualities of Dürer's model had been completely assimilated. This modification of the model has changed Dürer's expression of adoration, not to a poignant grief Sebastian cannot bear to witness but to an inexplicable disregard. Nevertheless, the effect of his gesture is reinforced by the sweep of his drapery so that despite the abrupt head movement our eyes are forced reluctantly yet inevitably to move to the left. Well exemplified in this transformation of adopted motifs is Grünewald's consummate mastery of his art.

Through the open window with its view of a hazy landscape, vigorously flying angels are seen bringing to Sebastian his crown of martyrdom. In a moment they will press it upon his heavy hair. Hagiographically they are quite out of place at this point, though as artistic elements they are important

in the organization of the panel. The saint did not achieve martyrdom at this time but survived the shower of arrows to meet death later, possibly in the Circus Maximus, and through Diocletian's orders. Angels bringing a crown to Sebastian are not to be found in northern scenes of Sebastian's tribulations antedating Dürer's Dresden triptych. Angels, however, do appear on occasion in Italian paintings and engravings of the second half of the fifteenth century.¹¹ Since the motif is so unusual in the North, one may freely conclude that it reached there by means of Italian engravings with which northern artists were, of course, thoroughly familiar.¹²

It is not impossible for Grünewald to have acquired knowledge of the angel motif independently of Dürer. He was not in Seligenstadt, however, in the latter years of the decade, and may have met Dürer in connection with the grisailles for Jacob Heller's altarpiece. Such a meeting is not necessary to explain the probable influence of Dürer's *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* of 1509, nor is it necessary to explain the influence of the Dresden Sebastian, but a visit to Dürer's workshop, or acquaintance with the Dresden work, wherever it may have been in the first decade, must have taken place. The angelic and demonic conflict in the Temptation of St. Anthony, the gesture of the extended hands and the flying angels bringing the crown of martyrdom, as well as the placement of the saints on the wings, are elements in the two altarpieces that permit but one conclusion: Grünewald knew and used Dürer's devices.

Much closer to contemporary and popular currents in art and literature than has hitherto been stressed, historians overwhelmed by Grünewald's undeniably individualistic character have not paid sufficient attention to his borrowings. In relation to the Isenheim Altarpiece these come in part from miniature painting, from the traditional iconography of Anthony's temptations, from woodcuts and engravings by Schongauer, Dürer, Cranach and Leeu, from the mystery plays of his own day, and from the Dresden Altarpiece of his great Franconian contemporary.

¹ Wilhelm Rolfs, "Eine italienische Vorlage Grünewalds für die Versuchung des hl. Anton vom Isenheimer Altar," *Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Wissenschaft*, XLII, N.F., VII (1920), 238-249.

² W. K. Zülch, *Der historische Grünewald, Mathis Gothardt-Neithardt*, Munich, Bruckmann, 1938, p. 161.

³ "La minuziosità è così grande, da far pensare che Bernardo, prima che dalla scuola del Mantegna, sia stato educato da un miniaturista," Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, VII, 3 (1914), 279.

⁴ For a temptation scene by the Limburgs see folio 194 of *Les Heures d'Ailly (les belles heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry)* recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; for the Boucicaut Master see folio 138 of a book of hours, Douce MS. 144, Bodleian Library, Oxford; for the Rohan Master see folio 222 verso, MS. 62, a book of hours, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; for Marmonier see the miniature attributed to him on folio 133 verso of a book of hours in the British Museum, MS. Add. 38126 (ill. F. Winkler, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei*, Leipzig, 1925, pl. 10); for Bosch see his *Temptation of St. Anthony* triptych, Lisbon, Museu nacional de arte antiga; for the Master of Mary of Burgundy see folio 191, Madrid, Bibl. nac. ms. E XIV Tesoro (Vit. 25-5), ill. Otto Paecht, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*, London, 1948, pl. 22b.

⁵ "In altra fece [Schongauer] sant'Antonio battuto dai diavoli, e portata in aria da una infinità di loro, in le più varie e bizzarre forme che si possano imaginare: la qual carta tanta piacque a Michelangelo, essendo giovenetto, che si mise a colorirla." Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori e scultori italiani*, Milanesi ed., Florence, 1880, V, 398.

⁶ ". . . having bid one of his acquaintances to bring him bread at intervals of many days, he entered one of the tombs . . . and remained within alone. And when the enemy could not endure it . . . he so cut him with stripes that he lay on the ground speechless from excessive pain . . . the next day his acquaintance came bringing him loaves. And having opened the door and finding him lying on the ground as though dead, he lifted him up and carried him to the church in the village . . . But about midnight he came to himself . . . his comrade alone watching . . . and asked him to carry him again to the tombs . . . He was carried therefore by the man, and . . . when the door was shut he was within alone . . . But the enemy . . . called together his hounds and . . . in the night the whole of that place seemed to be shaken by an earthquake, and the demons as if breaking the four walls of the dwelling seemed to enter through them coming in the likeness of beasts and creeping things. And the place was on a sudden filled with the forms of lions, bears, leopards, bulls, serpents, asps, scorpions and wolves, and each of them was moving according to his nature . . . altogether the noises of the apparitions, with their angry ragings, were dreadful . . . Nor was the Lord forgetful of Antony's wrestling, but was at hand to help him. So looking up he saw the roof as it were opened, and a ray of light descending to him. The demons suddenly vanished, the pain of his body straightway ceased, and the building was again whole. But Antony feeling the help, and getting his breath again, and being freed from pain, besought the vision which had appeared to him, saying, 'Where wert thou?' [The Latin text specifically refers to Jesus: "Ubi eras bone Iesu? ubi eras?" Cf. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXIII, col. 126 ff.] Why didst thou not appear at the beginning to make my pains to cease? And a voice came to him, 'Antony I was here, but I waited to see thy fight; wherefore since thou has endured, and hast not been worsted, I will ever be a succour to thee, and will make thy name known everywhere'. Having heard this, Antony arose and prayed . . . And he was then about thirty-five years old." Saint Athanasius, *Vita, s. Antonii*, H. Ellershaw trans., *A Select Library of Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, second series . . . New York, 1892, IV: *Select writings and letters of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria*. Edited by Archibald Robinson, 198-199.

⁷ Migne, *Pat. lat.* LXXIII, col. 25 ff.

⁸ Benjamin Kurtz, "From St. Anthony to St. Guthlac, a study in biography," *University of California publications in modern philology*, XII, 2 (1925-1926), 103-146.

⁹ *Monumenta germaniae historica, scriptores*, XXX, II, 773.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XV, 174, 176.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 230.

¹² *Acta sanctorum*, Jan., II, 515-516.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 513.

¹⁴ Hippolyte Dijon, *L'église abbatiale de Saint-Antoine en Dauphiné*, Grenoble, Paris, 1902, p. 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24; also see Migne, *Pat. lat.* CLXIII, 1093-1094.

¹⁶ Luc Maillet-Guy, *Les commanderies de l'ordre de St. Antoine en Dauphiné*, Vienna, 1928, p. 1 ff.

¹⁷ Rome, Arch. Vat. Reg. Vat. 1006, fol. 324-327; cf. P. Noordeloos, "Enige Gegevens over Broederschappen van S. Anthonius," *Publications de la société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg*, LXXXV (1949), 3, 479, note 5.

¹⁸ Maillet-Guy, p. 7.

¹⁹ Rose Graham (ed), *A Picture book of the life of saint Anthony the abbot. Reproduced from a ms. of the year 1426 in the Malta public library at Valletta, with supplementary plates of related aspects . . .*, Roxburghe Club No. 201, 1937.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129 f; a close copy of the work is found in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS. Laur. Med. Pal. 143.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²² Siena's dominant position at this time in the iconography of the temptations of St. Anthony is seen most clearly in its reflections in Spanish art. Seven retablos or fragments of retablos exist today to bear witness to the popularity of Anthony Abbot in Spain in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries:

a. Temptation of Anthony by devils, G. F. Harding Collection, Chicago, attributed to the Rusiñol Master, Catalan follower of the Serras, second half of the fourteenth century (Chandler R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1941, VIII, 565, fig. 261).

b. Beating by devils and vision of Christ; temptation by a woman, parts of a retablo of Ss. Anthony and Margaret, Museo Arqueológico-Artístico, Vich, no. 949, school of the Serras, considered as last of the fourteenth century (Post, 1930, II, 301-302); Gudiol (José Gudiol, *Spanish Painting*, published by the Toledo Museum of Art in connection with an exhibition held from March 16 to April 27, 1941, p. 20) considers this a work by Lluís Borrassà.

c. Beating by devils; temptation by a woman, fragments of a retablo, Museo Arqueológico-Artístico, Vich, No. 788, school of the Serras of the last of the fourteenth century (Post, 1930, II, 301-302); Gudiol (p. 24) considers this an early work by Bernardo Martorell under the influence of Borrassà, thus a work of the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

d. Beating by devils; temptation by woman and devil, Retablo of St. Anthony, formerly Moritz N. Oppenheim Collection, Frankfurt, school of Jaime Serra of the third, possibly the last quarter of the fourteenth century (Post, 1930, II, 250, fig. 160). In 1947 in the possession of the E.A. Silberman Galleries, New York, who attributed it to the Rubio Master of the late fourteenth century (*Art Quarterly*, X [1947], 299).

e. Beating by demons; temptation by a woman and two devils, Granadella, Ermita de San Antonio, shop of the Albatàrrec Master, a late follower of the Serras of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Post, 1930, II, 295-298).

f. Beating by devils (in the background of a panel devoted to St. Martin dividing his cloak), Gardner Museum, Boston, follower of the Serras of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Post, 1930, II, 312-314, fig. 188; 1933, IV, 622).

g. Beating by demons, fragment from a retablo from the parish church, Monzón, Museo Episcopal, Lérida, by Jaime Ferrer II, early fifteenth century (Post, 1930, II, 340).

The leitmotif of Sienese temptation iconography, continued occurrence of the diagonally recumbent saint beaten by demons, appears in six of the seven. The number of devils varies between three and five, and the diagonal position of the saint may shift from left to right, but the scene is the same in all except for the work from Monzón. Four of the seven show the two dominant temptation types among their panels: the beating by demons, and the appearance of the temptress. Basic iconographic unity is admirably demonstrated: the richly dressed feminine demon always stands at the left, and Anthony always stands at the right. This unity, and the stylistic derivation from Siena, lead to the conclusion that the iconography was equally derivative, for northern art is quite different when it treats Anthony's temptations.

²³ According to the *Byzantine Painter's Guide* (Adolphe Napoleon Didron, *Christian Iconography*, additions and appendices by Margaret Stokes [trans.], London, 1886, II, appendix II, 372-374) Anthony's beating by demons is as follows: "A tomb. The saint is laid in it at the bottom. Demons surround him and strike him with a stick. Other demons drag off the cover of the tomb."

²⁴ Graham, pl. 7, no. 28.

²⁵ C. Berte, "Gli affreschi di Giacomo Jaquerio nella chiesa dell'abbazia di San Antonio di Ranverso," *Atti della società piemontese di archeologia e belle arti*, VIII (1917), 201; Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1926, VII, 193.



Fig. 12. *The Syphilitic*
(woodcut attributed to Dürer.)



Fig. 13. *Temptation of St. Anthony*, Dutch School
Stockholm, National Museum



Fig. 14. *Temptation of St. Anthony*
by a Transformed Toad
(Hieronymus, "Leben der Heiligen
Altväter," Augsburg, 1497)



Fig. 15. GHERAERT LEEU (?), *Hell*
(woodcut, ca. 1482)



Fig. 16. ALBRECHT DÜRER, *St. Anthony and St. Sebastian*,
Dresden Triptych Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

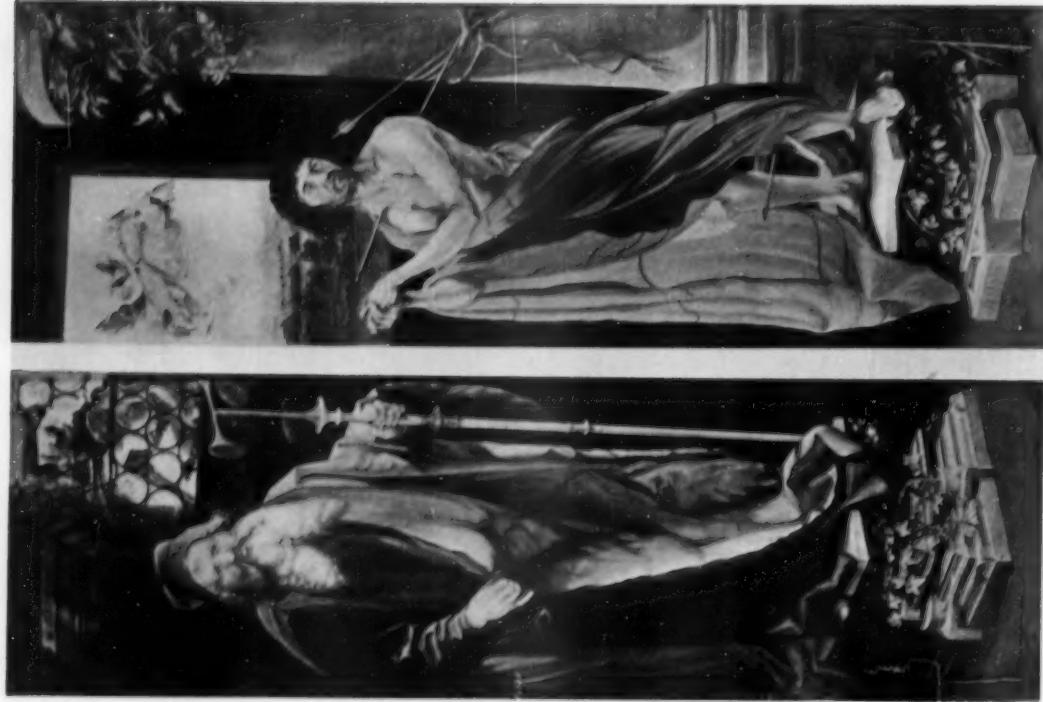


Fig. 17. MATTHIAS GRÜNEWALD, *St. Anthony and St. Sebastian*,
Isenheim Altarpiece Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden

²⁶ Altere Pinacothek, Munich, H. G. 452 (formerly 124). Eduard Firmenich-Richter (*Die Brüder Boisserée*, Jena, 1916, I, 470) dated the work as school of Cologna, ca. 1500, close to the Master of the Holy Kindred. Wearing the blue cross of the Order, a monk kneels in the right-hand corner of the painting. This is probably Wenzel Ulner, praecceptor of the monastery of All Saints, Cologne, who died in 1519.

²⁷ Rolfi, p. 248, "... dass Grünewald anscheinend eine Abbildung der beiden Parenzos im Gegensinne bekannt war, die er dem Aufbau seiner Tafel zugrunde legte. Ausschlaggebend für die dabei vorgenommen Veränderungen war die Umwandlung eines horizontalen Breitbildes in ein Hochbild mit hohem lichten Luftraum ... Alles, was er dem Italiener verdankt, sind rein äußerliche Anregungen, deren Beobachtung zu dem nicht unwahrscheinlich auf dem Wunsch des Auftraggebers zurückgehen möchte; und Parenzos Bilder sind Grünewalde nicht Gewesen als Anhaltspunkte dafür, wie die gleichzeitige Kunst Italiens diesen dort heimischen und oft behandelten Stoffe behandelte."

²⁸ Paul Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*, London, 1897, p. 11, cut 45; considered as after 1490.

²⁹ Bartsch 47.

³⁰ Cf. The *Temptation of Anthony*, folio 88 verso of Morgan MS. 672, a translation of the *Legenda aurea*, made at Bruges between 1445-1460 by the court atelier, and the *Temptation of Anthony* on folio 163 of the translated *Legenda aurea* printed at Augsburg by Guenther Zainer in 1471 (Hain-Copinger 8968).

³¹ See note 3.

³² Bartsch 56; Schreiber 70.

³³ *Verzeichnis der Gemälde des Wallraf-Richartz Museums*, Cologne, 1910, p. 119, no. 383. It is now attributed by the museum to the "Kreis des Hans Baldung Grien."

³⁴ No. 115/1918. The "circle of Grünewald" attribution was made by Conrad von Mandach ("Die Antoniustafel von Nikolaus Manuel," *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, N. F., XXXVIII, 1 [1935], 1-28). According to the National Museum, Stockholm, Dr. Peter Halm, director of the Graphische Sammlung, Munich, believes that the work is a copy by Hans Burgkmair of a lost painting by another master.

³⁵ Gustav Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, Leipzig, 1869, I, 346.

³⁶ Hain, No. 8609, folio 16f; also cf. Hain, nos. 8605, 8608, etc.

³⁷ Willi Kurth, *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer*, New York, n.d., p. 18, fig. 92; Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1945, 2nd rev. ed., II, 48, no. 403; Schreiber, no. 1926.

³⁸ Panofsky, II, fig. 211.

³⁹ According to Dr. Panofsky, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J., this specific type of a somewhat degenerate man, only half dressed and carrying a kind of club, is by no means specific to medical illustration. It is, rather, the commonly accepted type, frequent from the middle of the thirteenth century, of the Fool according to Psalm XIII (XIV) which begins: "Dixit insipiens in corde suo." We may add that by the XV century his normal clothing has become a pair of breeches, usually ragged, or the more abbreviated medieval shorts. The figure draped about the shoulders is also found in drolleries (D. Bax, *Ontciffering van Jeroen Bosch*, 's-Gravenhage, 1949, figs. 112, 126, 128), on apes (H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, London, 1952, pl. XXVI, a, c, d), and is a characteristic of attire worn by jongleurs and mimes. These had a far from holy reputation in medieval times (cf. Janson, pp. 146, 200).

⁴⁰ Schreiber, 1832; see Schreiber, 12 for the relation of this woodcut to the Netherlands and Leeu (ill., M. Zücker, *Einzel-Formschnitte in der Kupferstichsammlung der königlichen Universitäts-Bibliothek Erlangen*, Strassburg, Heitz, 1913, no. 35; also Bax, fig. 127).

⁴¹ The central panel may have been painted ca. 1496, the wings about 1503 or slightly later, cf. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*, Munich, 1943, 6th ed., p. 130 f.

⁴² Yves Delaporte, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: histoire et description*, Chartres, 1926, pls. 1, 36.

⁴³ L'abbé Paul Guillaume, *Le mystère de Sant Anthoni de Viennes*, publié d'après une copie de l'an 1503 . . . Gap., Paris, 1884.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. XII-XIII.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. CXII.

⁴⁶ Cf. Ch. XIV of the life of Anthony in the vernacular translation of the *Vitae patrum* printed at Venice, June 24, 1491, by Giovanni Ragazzo for Lucantonio Giunta (Hain, no. 8624).

⁴⁷ Though Zülch remarked a gathering of intercessory saints (p. 143), there is nothing in the central panel to justify such an assumption. If a concert of intercessory saints had been dominant in the planning, surely St. Roch would have been included as well, for Sebastian is normally presented with Roch rather than with Anthony (cf. the illustrations in Victor Krachling, *Saint Sébastien dans l'art*, Paris, 1918).

⁴⁸ According to Krachling (p. 21) "Ainsi GRÜNEWALD tout en reprenant l'idée de DÜRER, dépasse de beaucoup avec son chef-d'œuvre le triptyque de son compatriote . . ." However, no evidence is given to support his statement.

⁴⁹ Bartsch 3 (illus. in Valentin Scherer, ed., *Dürer, des meisters Gemälde . . .*, Stuttgart, Berlin, n.d., 3rd ed. (*Klassiker der Kunst*), p. 119; also cf. Hans F. Schmidt, "Voraussetzungen der Kunst Grünewalds," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunswissenschaft*, VII (1940), 90 f. Schmidt's attempt to show Boschian influence seems thoroughly unconvincing.

⁵⁰ Guido Schoenberger, ed., *The Drawings of Mathis Gothart Nithart Called Grünewald*, New, York 1948, p. 27 f., nos. 6, 7.

⁵¹ No preserved drawing, woodcut or engraving by Dürer presents this motif. The motif of angels bringing a crown to the saint is found in Agnolo Gaddi's fresco in S. Ambrogio, Florence (illus. in George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Florence, 1952, fig. 1031); two frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli, one of 1465 in S. Agostino S. Gimignano (Kaftal, fig. 1038), the other in the Collegiale S. Gimignano (Krachling, pl. 10); in Pintoricchio's fresco executed between 1492-1494, in the Borgia apartments in the Vatican (Krachling, pl. 18); and in a number of early Italian engravings, some from Florence, others from elsewhere in Italy (cf. Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, London, 1938, I, 2, pl. 49, Florentine work of ca. 1460-1470; pl. 107, another Florentine work of ca. 1470-1480; I, 3, pl. 211, also Florentine, of ca. 1475-1490; I, 3, pl. 285b, a St. Sebastian with St. Roch by Cristofano Robetta; I, 4, pl. 413, a Ferrarese work of ca. 1470-1480 which has the flying angel but no crown is present; and II (1948), 6, pl. 670, by Niccolotto da Modena who made quite a number of St. Sebastian engravings without angel and crown of which this is the exception). To date the present writer has been unable to uncover any other northern examples of this hagiographically inexact motif. A later example of the persistence of this inaccuracy in Italian art appears in Sodoma's *Martyrdom (sic) of St. Sebastian* in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Apparently the North was more exact in its portrayal of Sebastian's tortures; certainly its woodcuts do not present angels with crowns at the wrong place in the hagiography; in northern painting an equal hagiographic accuracy is noted. Angels appear in contemporary German woodcuts of St. Sebastian, as cf. Baldung's cut of 1512 (Max Geisberg, *Der deutsche Einblatt-Holzschnitt in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1923-1930, XX, 8) where angels pull out the arrows and untie him, and his woodcut of 1514 (Geisberg, XX, 4) shows angels flying about in grief but they render no assistance to Sebastian tied to the tree. Hans Burgkmair's woodcut of 1512 (Geisberg, IX, 13) reveals Italian influences possibly derived from Dürer (cf. B. 56). He shows a nude Sebastian tied to a column placed within an architectural frame, while Hans Wechtlin in a woodcut of 1515 (Geisberg, XXVI, 40) shows Sebastian as tied to a column placed within a window frame and silhouetted against the sky. In neither of the latter, nor in engravings by Altdorfer (B 23 and Passavant 97) can angels be found; nor can they be found in Baldung's earlier woodcut of 1505 (Geisberg, X, 5). From this early work by Baldung we may conclude, given the generally derivative character of his art, that by 1505 Dürer had not yet added the wings to his Dresden triptych (cf. Wölfflin, *op.cit.*).

⁵² Zülch, p. 77, n. 16.

AN ARCHAIC ETRUSCAN LIBATION-BEARER

By EMELINE HILL RICHARDSON

THE Toledo Museum of Art has recently acquired an archaic Etruscan bronze of major importance as well as great intrinsic charm (Figs. 1-5).¹ Very large for a votive figure of any period, it is one of the largest from the archaic period, surpassed only by the kore now in the British Museum from Sessa Aurunca on the Volturro, and equaled only by the *Hercules* at Ancona and the *Javelin Thrower* in the Louvre, all three of which are slightly later in date.² Its type has a distinguished history; the figure represents a young man wearing the semicircular Etruscan cloak, the ancestor of the Roman toga.³ Archaic *togati* are peculiar to Etruria and are almost invariably large handsome bronzes which must have been the offerings of important people, a conjecture supported by the elegance of the costume worn by these bronzes. Generally they wear elaborate high soft boots and almost all of the togas are decorated on the borders with delicate incised designs which must represent embroidery. At Rome every citizen had the right to wear a toga; this may also have been true in Etruria but we have no evidence for it: the only Etruscan togas actually mentioned in ancient sources are royal garments variously colored and embroidered. It is quite possible, therefore, that these bronze *togati* with their embroidered cloaks represent princes.⁴

The bronze in Toledo is the earliest as well as the largest of these princely figures, the oldest known *togatus*. The workmanship is equally noteworthy; not only was it evidently designed by a master sculptor, with a balance of masses and harmony of line none too common in Etruscan art, but more important, it has unusually close affinities with the sculptural style of Attica and the Cyclades of the period *ca.* 540-515 B.C. The figure is said to have been found in the vicinity of the Greek city of Metapontum in south Italy, a provenience which is of course not impossible; however, despite its connections with Greek art, it was made in no Greek territory; there can be no doubt that it is Etruscan work.

A young man wearing high boots with pointed toes and a cloak wrapped around his body and slung over the left shoulder stands pouring a libation from a *patera* balanced on the palm of the left hand. This is an uncommonly

early Etruscan example of a well-known type, popular in Greece as well as in Etruria during the classical period. The archaic character of the figure is evident: it is completely frontal and stands erect with the weight evenly distributed, the left foot slightly advanced, in the characteristic attitude of the Greek kouros from the middle of the seventh century B.C. to the first quarter of the fifth. The arms hang loosely from the shoulders and are bent at the elbows, a variant of the commoner vertical position of the arms (almost invariable in Greek marble figures) which is frequently used in Greece for bronzes; such bronzes usually carry some object in each hand. One can tell from the twist of the muscles of the right forearm of the Toledo bronze that the right hand turned inward; it was probably closed and held some rod-like object, to judge by analogy with other figures of libation-bearers such as, for example, the *Apollo* of Piombino, which held a libation bowl in the right hand and some object vertically in the left.¹

The head is large and bent downward slightly so that the longest axis, from the elongated rounded skull to the chin, is at an angle of 45° to the body. The face is an irregular oval, broadest just below the eyes. The forehead is low, the eyebrows exaggeratedly high but not especially arched. The eyes are set so that the outer corners slant very slightly upward; they are indicated by large almond-shaped lumps with an incised outline. The nose is long and prominent with a spreading tip. The mouth and chin recede sharply; the lips are pronounced, the upper protrudes over the lower, both describe the same arc in an exaggerated smile. The cheeks bulge under the eyes; the planes of the face fall away toward the mouth and chin, which is rounded and full but not prominent. The ears are high and small and set at an angle to the profile. The left ear appears as a smeared lug of bronze, unmodeled except for the edge of the helix. The right ear is shaped like a capital C with a bead at the inner end of the upper curve.

The hair is brushed forward in a thick fringe across the forehead; behind the ears it falls in a close flap along the back of the neck, spreading slightly and ending in a curved line high on the shoulders (Fig. 4). The hair on the forehead and the edge of the hanging flap are rendered with fine parallel incisions, and two incised lines across the front of the head from ear to ear represent a fillet binding the hair. The rest of the hair is rendered by an incised scale pattern.

The neck is thick and tapering, the shoulders wide and bony; the collar-bones and the hollow between them are indicated plastically. The arms are

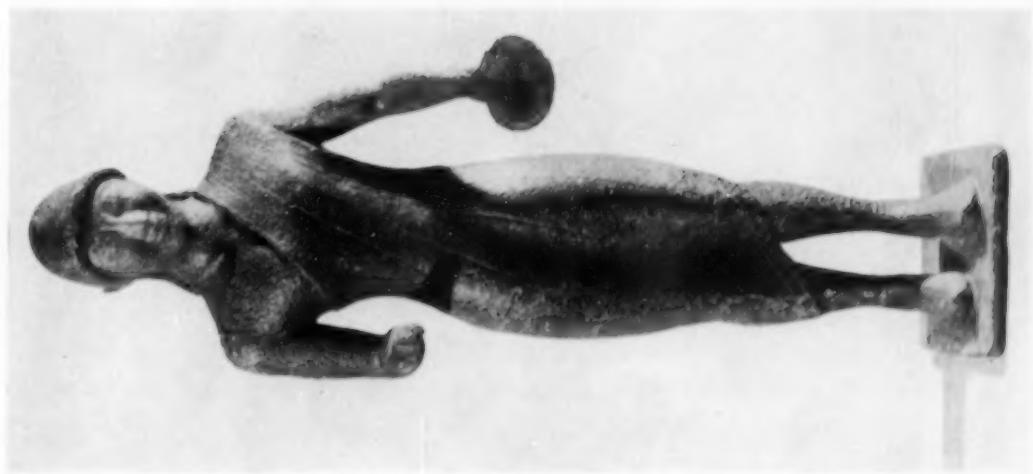


Fig. 1. Archaic Libation-Bearer
Toledo Museum of Art



Fig. 2. Rear view of Figure 1

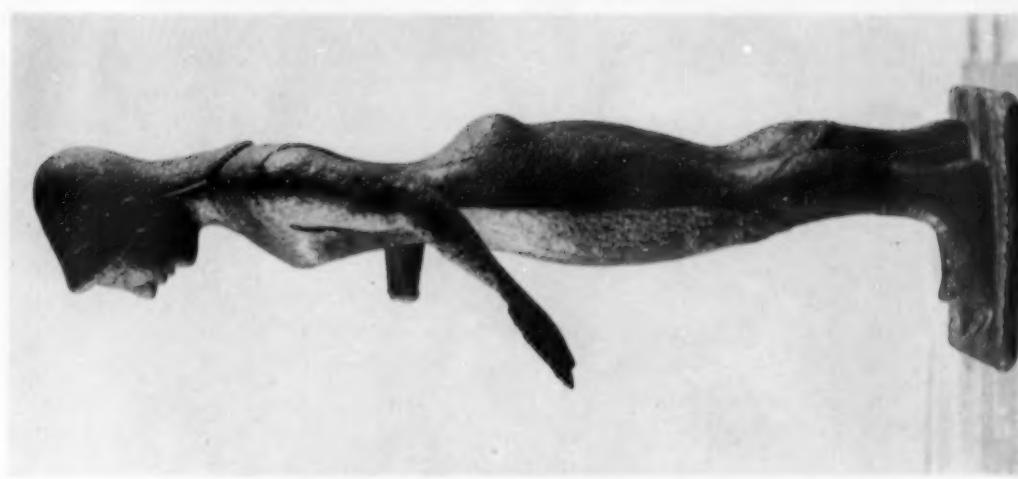


Fig. 3. Side view of Figure 1



Fig. 5. Detail of Figure 1

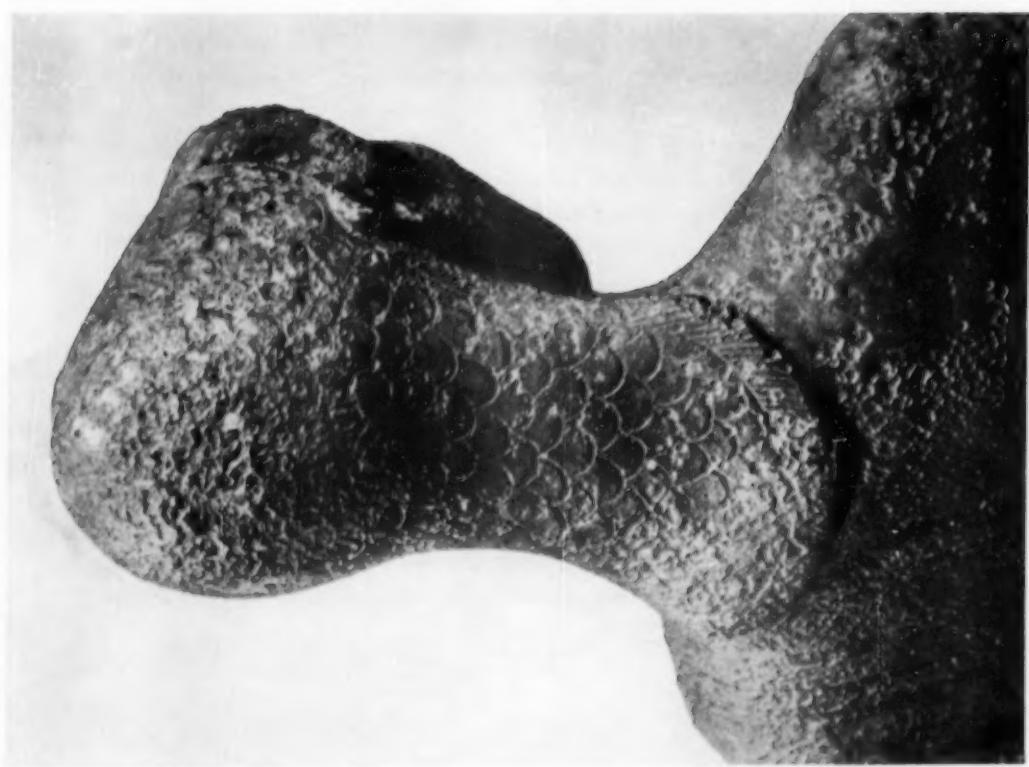


Fig. 4. Detail of Figure 1

long and the muscles are correctly indicated. The torso is extremely flat in profile, the breasts are high and prominent, there is a slight bulge to indicate the shoulder-blades and the waist is slender. The buttocks are small but prominent, the thighs very heavy. The broad curve of the legs from waist to knee is just broken by a suggestion of the hip-bones. Below the knees the legs are relatively short with swelling calves, sharp shins and slender ankles. The feet are long, and the left hand under the patera is long and narrow, with fingers together and the thumb slightly bent.

The anatomical details date the bronze with considerable precision. The high-crowned egg-shaped head and the hanging profile are characteristic of the Ionian figure style which was taken over by Athens and the rest of Greece during the third quarter of the sixth century.⁴ The curving lips, slanting eyes, bulging cheeks and narrow jaw are parts of the same style, and comparison with the heads of the Acropolis korai nos. 682 and 671 is illuminating.⁵ Nose, mouth and chin, in profile, look like a boyish version of kore no. 682; bulging cheeks and broad smile like nos. 682 and 671; the "falling away" of the planes of the face is more like no. 671.⁶ Payne dates these korai about 530 B.C.⁷

For the proportions of the body one must turn for *comparanda* to the kouroi of Miss Richter's Anavysos-Ptoon 12 Group, *ca.* 540-515 B.C.⁸ The short broad neck, wide muscular shoulders and muscular arms, the prominent buttocks and heavy thighs are characteristic of the Attic kouroi in Munich and Athens.⁹ The contrast of prominent buttocks, heavy thighs and shallow torso is well seen in a kouros from Keos, now in Athens;¹⁰ the smooth curve of the legs, with only a slight indication of the hip-bone, is found in the kouroi from Anavysos and the Ptoon sanctuary as well as the figure from Keos.¹¹ The bronze in Toledo has a flatter torso than any of these marble figures, very likely because it is a bronze. Of the Greek male heads perhaps the best parallel is one from the Acropolis,¹² in which the carving of the eyes is, however, much more refined.

These Attic and Ionian parallels require that the bronze in Toledo be dated somewhere in the Anavysos-Ptoon 12 period (540-515 B.C.), not too near its lower limit. A date *ca.* 530 B.C. is most probable. The fact must be stressed that anatomically this figure fits without difficulty into the scheme of Greek dating, because it is generally believed and not infrequently true that Etruscan figures betray a distinct time lag in anatomy and general style in comparison with the Greek statues which they imitate. It is not true of this bronze.

However, this figure could never be taken for Greek. Quite apart from the

enormous eyes, a barbarism that the Etruscans continued long after the Greeks had given it up, there are certain antiquarian details which insist on its being Etruscan. The boots, to be sure, of soft leather with pointed toes, laced high above the ankle and ending in front with a double spiral, were borrowed from Ionia by the Etruscans and are originally Hittite.¹⁵ The arrangement of the hair, however, brushed into a thick fringe on the forehead and making a curved flap on the base of the neck, is characteristically Etruscan and, exactly in this form, seems never to have been used in Greece.¹⁶ The cloak wrapped around the body and thrown over the left shoulder is a well-known motif in Greek sculpture of the archaic period, but the Greek cloak is the rectangular himation whereas this is the semicircular Etruscan toga.¹⁷

The straight edge of the Etruscan toga is worn at the top, the semicircular edge hangs. In the case of the bronze in Toledo, the straight edge is decorated with a cross-hatch pattern between plain borders, the curved with a zigzag between straight lines and a row of tiny circles. One corner of the toga is thrown over the left shoulder from behind: a bit of the border of the straight edge shows against the neck just in front of the hair (Fig. 5). The other corner is thrown back over the left shoulder from the front, covering and anchoring the first corner. The ends of the cloak are bunched on the left shoulder; the straight edge fits tightly around the body under the right arm while the curved edge sweeps down to cover both knees and the right leg to mid-calf. The folds, like the ornamental borders, are indicated only by incising, which in back ends in a rather inconclusive transverse line, as though the artist were not competent to render the hanging folds of the loose end (Fig. 2).

This is the only bronze of its type in which the folds of the cloak are indicated only by incised lines, an archaic characteristic in Etruria and indeed in Greece. All other figures of this Etruscan type have drapery with plastic folds and are stylistically later than the Toledo bronze. The nearest in proportions and in attitude, a figure in London, wears a cloak whose folds on the left shoulder and along the front of the semicircular border are a series of overlapping zigzags (Fig. 7).¹⁸ A bronze in Copenhagen (Fig. 6), in a somewhat different attitude (the left hand rests on the hip), shows similar but smaller plastic zigzags along the border of the cloak under the left hand.¹⁹ A third bronze, from Elba, now in Naples (Figs. 10-12), wears a cloak draped in shallow plastic folds.²⁰ The well-known *Vertumnus* in Florence (Fig. 8) wears a tunic as well as the toga, both in elaborate narrow folds of drapery.²¹ A bronze found near Prato, now in London (Fig. 9), a figure perhaps a genera-

tion younger than the Toledo statue, wears a toga with sharply ridged folds which follow the contours of the body naturalistically, though no more so than the Toledo figure's incised folds.²¹

There are striking similarities between the bronze from Elba (Figs. 10-12) and the figure in Toledo, though the Elba bronze falls far short of the Toledo in modeling and design, a fact which is obscured by the beautiful glossy surface of the Elba bronze. This is one of the series of *togati* which stand with the left hand on the hip, the right outstretched.²² The shape of the head is like a vulgarization of the Toledo bronze's; there is the same egg-shaped crown and hanging profile, hacked out rather than harmoniously designed (Figs. 3 and 12). The low forehead and big eyes, and the high small ears shaped like capital Cs are very like the Toledo figure's; the narrow nose, unsmiling mouth and long cleft chin are quite different. The hair furnishes the only close parallel for the treatment of the hair of the Toledo figure; in the bronze from Elba the fringe on the forehead is double and there is no fillet, but otherwise the vertical striations of the edges and the scale pattern of the main mass are the same (Figs. 4, 11 and 12). At the crown there is a coarsely incised chrysanthemum pattern (Fig. 11) which indicates that the headdress is in fact meant to represent hair—the scale pattern probably should be taken for curls—rather than some kind of close-fitting cap, as has been suggested.²³

The bronze from Elba is later than the figure in Toledo; the shoulders are narrower, the torso thicker, the buttocks protrude less, the legs are longer. It should be compared with bronzes of Miss Richter's Ptoon 20 group (ca. 515-485 B.C.), for example, a bronze from the Ptoon and one in New York,²⁴ though the Elba bronze betrays none of their interest in anatomy, nor indeed any of the anatomical excellence of the Toledo bronze. In spite of the difference in quality and in date between the two Etruscan bronzes one is forced to suppose that the Elba bronze was made by someone who had seen the earlier, the Toledo figure, because the various details of the heads are so much alike.

Where the bronzes were made can only be conjectured. The island of Elba was Etruscan territory and one embarked for it at Populonia, the only Etruscan city on the coast in the archaic period. The roads from Populonia to the great Etruscan centers are two: along the coast to Vulci, Tarquinia, Caere and Rome, and inland up the valley of the Cecina to Volterra, from which one reaches Fiesole and Arezzo. From Arezzo one may go down the Val di Chiana to Chiusi unless one prefers to come up the Tiber from Rome. Most

of the surviving archaic bronze *togati* are without provenience. The figure in London (Fig. 9) was found near Prato, near Florence; the example in Copenhagen (Fig. 6) was "bought in Florence"; *Vertumnus* (Fig. 8) comes from near Fossoombroone on the far side of the pass across the Apennines from Arezzo. No bronzes of this type are known to have been found in south Etruria, though there are archaic terracotta *togati* from the south. The most notable of these, the *Apollo* of Veii, while a handsome early fifth century figure, unfortunately headless, now in Copenhagen, is said to come from Orvieto.²⁴ It is highly probable, therefore, that the Toledo bronze is north Etruscan, as also the bronze from Elba, but in what center they were made—Volterra, Fiesole, Arezzo and Chiusi are the great bronze workshops of the North during the archaic period—cannot at present be determined.

The extremely elaborate costume of these bronze *togati* has already been mentioned. All of them wear the soft Ionian boots (except for the example in Copenhagen, Fig. 6, whose feet are broken); all but two wear the *toga sine tunica* as the Romans did in the archaic period; the finely decorated borders of these togas suggest that they represent the *toga praetexta* of a prince.²⁵ Two (Figs. 7 and 8) wear a long tunic under the toga (as do, incidently, the two terracotta *togati*, the *Apollo* of Veii and the figure from Orvieto), and these two figures also wear a hat with a brim. The hat appears to be the badge of a priest; possibly the tunic was also, in the archaic period, part of the priestly costume.²⁶ The toga worn by these archaic figures is much smaller and less voluminous than the Roman Imperial toga, but such a toga, the *toga exigua*, was still worn in Italy as late as the first century B.C. It is best illustrated by the life-size bronze in Florence, the so-called *Arringatore* found near lake Trasimene.²⁷ Votive figures wearing the toga are known from every period in Etruscan art. A bronze in Amsterdam (Fig. 13) may serve to illustrate the classic style of the second half of the fifth century; an uncommonly handsome bronze in Catania (Fig. 14) comes from the early years of the fourth; and another in Catania (Fig. 15) is one of the many Hellenistic figures wearing the toga.²⁸ During the first century B.C. the Roman toga became larger and more elaborate, but the innumerable *togati* of the Imperial period are the lineal descendants of such archaic figures as the libation-bearer in Toledo.²⁹

Of all the archaic bronze *togati* the figure in Toledo is much the largest. It is a big heavy bronze and it seems odd that it should have been cast with such a light base (Figs. 1-3). A flat base, square or round, is frequently cast with a small bronze in Greece or Etruria (cf. Fig. 7), but the larger figures



Fig. 6. Archaic Togatus
Copenhagen, Danish National Museum



Fig. 7. Archaic Togatus
London, British Museum



Fig. 8. Vertumnus from
Isola di Fano
Florence, Museo Archeologico



Fig. 9. Archaic Togatus from
Pizzirimonte near Prato
London, British Museum

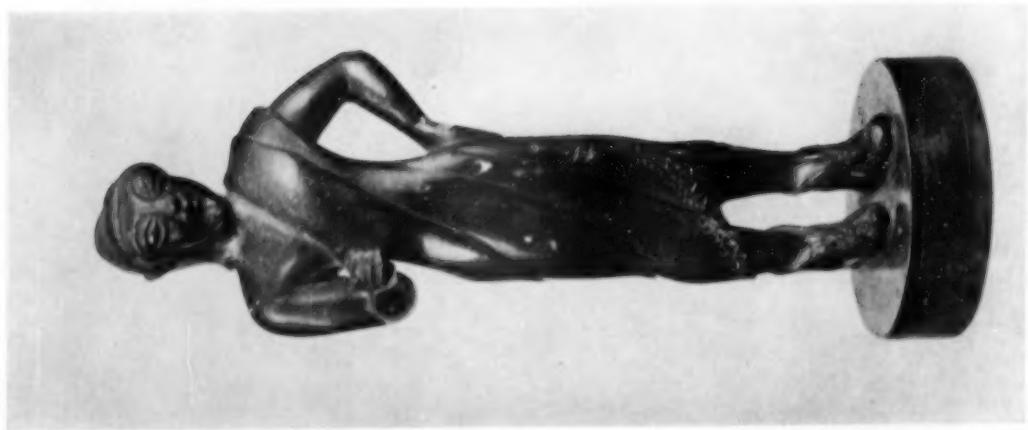


Fig. 10. *Devoto from Elba*
Naples, Museo Nazionale

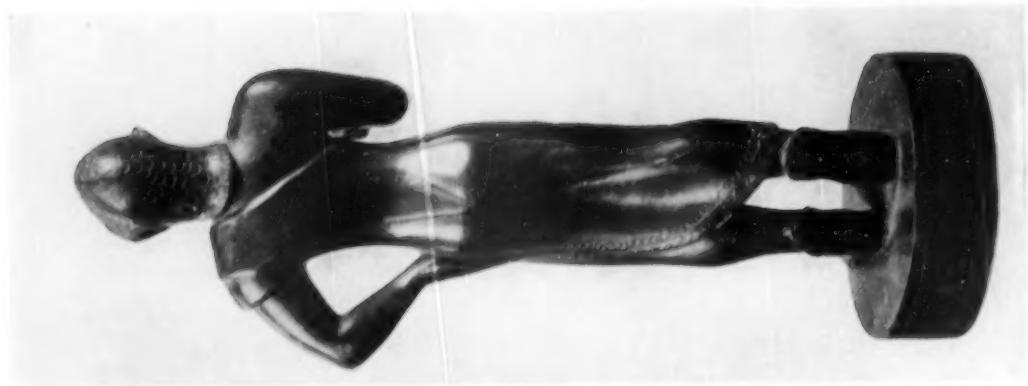


Fig. 11. *Rear view of Figure 10*

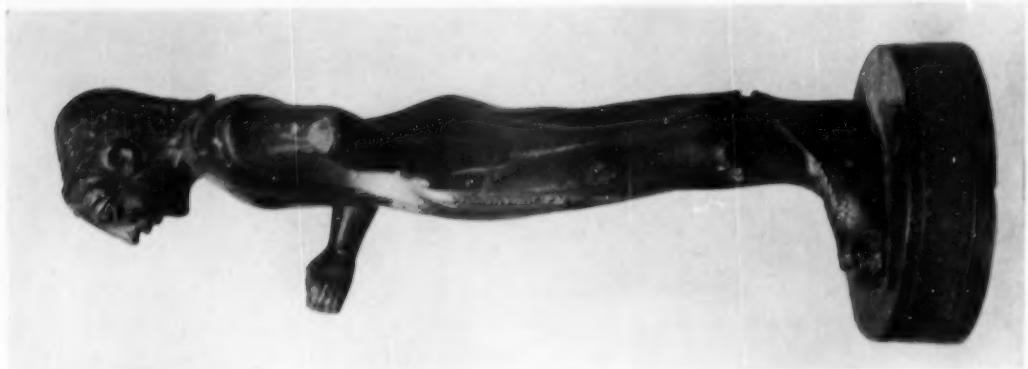


Fig. 12. *Side view of Figure 10*

generally have a long heavy tang under each heel, which can be soldered to a hollowed base (the lead solder as well as the tangs are preserved under the feet of the bronze from Prato, Fig. 9). There is however one excellent parallel for the flat base of the Toledo bronze: the bronze flute player from Samos, which, like the Toledo bronze is 0.42 cm high, is cast together with a flat oblong base of much the same proportions as that under the feet of the Toledo bronze.¹¹

¹ H. with base, 0.413; base oblong, 0.116 long; 0.088 wide; about 0.007 thick, without rivet holes. Surface badly pitted with bronze disease; original surface glossy reddish-brown best preserved on lower part of toga between the knees. Right hand broken off at wrist; break with same pitted brown and green surface as rest of bronze. Figure cast solid with base and patera in left hand. A flaw in casting at left instep, spreading from foot to base; a second, smaller flaw on outside of right foot below ankle; a third on back of right calf just below edge of toga; a fourth nick on left leg under toga. No sign of patching. Underpart of drapery between legs left as smooth surface, also V-shaped space under left arm before edges of toga come together. Neither of these surfaces intended to be seen, or visible, unless figure is tilted.

² H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the British Museum*, London, 1899, no. 447; E. Galli, "Herkulu," *StE*, XV (1941), 27 ff., pls. 3-6; A. de Ridder, *Les Bronzes Antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1913, vol. I, no. 3, pl. 2.

³ Emeline Hill Richardson, "The Etruscan Origins of Early Roman Sculpture," *MAAR*, XXI (1953), 110 ff.

⁴ Livy 1.8.3. Pliny the Elder 9.63.

⁵ de Ridder, *op. cit.*, no. 2, pl. 2; Gisela M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, New York, 1942, no. 148, figs. 415-422.

⁶ Humphry Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, London, 1936, p. 56 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 40; 41; 42, 1, 2 and 3; 43, 1 and 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 41, 1; 43, 1 and 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26 ff.

¹⁰ Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 189 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, no. 113, figs. 313, 314; no. 115, figs. 322-324.

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 120, fig. 337.

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 114, fig. 318; no. 120, fig. 334; no. 121, fig. 340.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 117, fig. 327.

¹⁵ Ernst Buschor, *Altägyptische Standbilder*, Berlin, 1934, figs. 5, 7, 8; D. G. Hogarth, *Carchemish*, London, 1914, vol. I, pls. B 11, 1; B 12; B 16, 1; Kurt Bittel, *Die Ruinen von Bogazkoy*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1937, fig. 59.

¹⁶ Berlin, Antiquarium; *Staatl. Museen zu Berlin*, *Führer durch das Antiquarium* 1; *Bronzen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924, p. 20, no. Fr. 2159, pl. 12; Hans Mühlstein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker*, Berlin, 1929, fig. 189; G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca*, Milan, 1935, pl. 126, 3. A number of Etruscan bronze kouroi in Florence, all unpublished, wear their hair in this way: Museo Archeologico, Inv. nos. 45, 48, 53, 56, 57, 66, 72, 77, 84.

¹⁷ Marble from Samos, Buschor, *op. cit.* p. 46, figs. 160-162. Acropolis, Athens, no. 663, Payne, *op. cit.* pl. 102; no. 144. Payne, pl. 118, 1. Bronze from Olympia, Athens National Museum 6163; Ernst Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Nuremberg, 1927, p. 83, pl. 40a.

¹⁸ Walters, *op. cit.* no. 522, cast with small round base in two steps, under side concave. H. of figure 0.11, of base 0.004. The figure wears a conical hat with a brim and a long tunic under the toga, high shoes with pointed toes. The right hand holds an egg, the left makes a prayer gesture.

¹⁹ Danish National Museum ABa 159 "bought in Florence." Both feet broken; preserved H. 0.11. The right forearm is bent inward, apparently by accident, the fist is pierced vertically.

²⁰ Naples, Museo Nazionale 5534. Giglioli, *StE*, II (1928), 49, pl. 4; *idem*, *L'Arte Etrusca*, pl. 83, 1-3; Mühlstein, figs. 190, 191; P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika*, Copenhagen, 1941, p. 143, pl. 23, 4; Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 119, fig. 35; Kunsthaus Zurich, *Kunst und Leben der Etrusker*, 1955, no. 168.

²¹ From Isola di Fano, Picenum. Florence, Museo Archeologico 72725; Milani, *NS*, 1884, p. 270 f., pl. 3; Mühlstein, *op. cit.*, fig. 196; Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. 85; Riis, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Richardson, *op. cit.*, fig. 36.

²² From Pizzirimonte near Prato. Walters, *op. cit.*, no. 509, pl. 16; Riis, *op. cit.* p. 91; Richardson, *op. cit.*, fig. 37.

²³ Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 ff.

²⁴ By Professor Otto Brendel, in discussing the Toledo bronze with the author.

²⁵ Richter, *op. cit.*, no. 133, figs. 398-400; no. 143, figs. 401-404

²⁶ Giglioli, *NS*, 1919, p. 16 f., pls. 1-5; *idem, A.E.*, pls. 189-192; Massimo Pallottino, *La Scuola di Vulca*, Rome, 1945, pp. 6, 8 ff., pls. 1-4; Frederik Poulsen, *Katalog des Etruskischen Museums (Helbig Museum) der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen, 1927, p. 106, H 215; *Bildertafeln des Etruskischen Museums (Helbig Museum) der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen, 1928, pl. 85.

²⁷ *Toga sine tunica*: Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticas* 7.12.3; Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 6; Asconius *ad Cic. pro Scauro* 30.9. *Toga praetexta*: Pliny the Elder 9.63; 8.74.

²⁸ Gustav Körte, "Göttinger Bronzen," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 16 no. 4, Berlin, 1917, pp. 13 ff. A third figure of a similar type and date wears the same priestly hat, Louvre, no. 4269. That they are priests does not preclude their being princes; priest-kings were common in Etruria.

²⁹ *Toga exigua*: Horace, *Epistles* 1.19.13. *Arringatore*, Florence, Museo Archeologico; A. Milani, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Florence, 1912, I, 136, II, pl. 27; Giglioli, *A.E.*, pls. 369, 370; Fr. Poulsen, "Probleme der römischen Ikonographie," *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Archaeologisk-Kunsthistoriske Meddelelser*, II (1937), 1; Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 112, fig. 23. Lillian M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga*, Baltimore, 1924, pp. 25 ff., fig. 1.

³⁰ H. C. van Gulik, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam*, Part I, Amsterdam, 1940, p. 3, no. 6, pl. 3 (Inv. 3527). G. Libertini, *Il Castello Ursino e le raccolte artistiche comunali di Catania*, Catania, 1937, p. 90, no. 3728 (actually this figure is numbered 3727 in the museum inventory), pl. 8, H. 0.185. Catania, Castello Ursino no. 3731, H. 0.305; unpublished.

³¹ Cf. the photographs of Imperial *togati* in Wilson, *op. cit.*, Chap. 3.

³² Buschor, p. 43 f., pls. 146-149. A letter from Professor Buschor to the author states that the flat oblong base which appears in the photographs under the flute player's feet was in fact cast with the bronze, exactly as in the Toledo figure.

I wish to thank the directors of the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, for permission to publish Figure 6; the trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish Figures 7 and 9; the director of the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, for permission to publish Figure 13; the Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Etruria for permission to publish Figure 8; the Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Campania for permission to publish Figures 10-12; and the Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Catania for permission to publish Figures 14 and 15.



Fig. 15. Hellenistic Togatus
Catania, Castel Ursino



Fig. 14. Togatus, fourth century
Catania, Castel Ursino



Fig. 13. Togatus, fifth century
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum



Fig. 1. PETER PAUL RUBENS, *Elijah*
New Rochelle, Mr. and Mrs. Curtis Baer Collection

SHORTER NOTES

RUBENS' OIL SKETCHES AND DRAWINGS IN THE FOGG MUSEUM

By JAKOB ROSENBERG

WE live today in an age of exhibitions, with one following close upon another. The stature of a museum man is often measured by the popular success of the shows he has organized. If his exhibitions offer new and less known aspects of an important artist's work, or of a significant artistic trend, he will also have the approval of the scholars. But this ideal—to satisfy the layman and the expert as well—is not easily attained.

The Fogg Art Museum, as a teaching institution, is naturally inclined to stress the scholarly effort in its undertakings. But the 1956 show of Rubens' oil sketches and drawings from American collections, organized in coöperation with the Pierpont Morgan Library (as the first in a series of joint exhibitions), has turned out to be a popular success also. The public responded, and, above all, the students and scholars interested in Rubens found a great deal to learn from this fine exhibition, organized by Agnes Mongan with the help of staff members. One reason for putting Rubens ahead of other artists on this Fogg-Morgan program was the recent publication of Ruth S. Magurn's excellent edition of Rubens' letters in English translation, with elaborate and very informative comments. So the coincidence of the two events was not an accidental one, and gave genuine satisfaction to all concerned.

But what could be learned from this show, which for the first time brought together all the oil sketches and drawings in American collections, inasmuch as the Rubens specialists have already expressed their expert opinions on this material? Even they, I believe, profited from this occasion, because here they could see the individual works not in isolation (as experts usually do), but in the company of a good many excellent originals, an opportunity which offers a new challenge to the judgment both on authenticity and on quality.

There were altogether twenty-two oil sketches and twenty-seven drawings, not an overwhelming number when we think of the total sum of Rubens'

work in these categories. The Rotterdam exhibition of oil sketches of 1953 showed altogether 119 items, the publication on Rubens' drawings by Glück and Haberditzl lists 241. However, the quantity alone is not decisive, and one must say that the various periods of Rubens' development were sufficiently represented, with some fine examples in each, while the general level was high.

To begin with the oil sketches, they brought a most vivid re-affirmation of the immense artistic charm of this category in which Rubens was rather unique. The oil sketch was of the utmost importance in Rubens' whole working procedure. In this way he condensed his ideas and gave a clear pictorial direction to his workshop members, so that his many helpers could develop from there the giant canvases which were sent to all parts of Europe. Perhaps two characteristics stood out in the most convincing of these oil sketches: one is the open interaction of the different layers of paint, showing that Rubens never wasted his energy by simply covering up one layer of paint by the next. Through their open interplay he preserved the genuine sketch character that is so appealing to the modern eye. The other feature, equally important and related to the first, is what one might call the coöperation of drawing and painting, both of which he kept alive in his sketches. Even in the shadows, in a well-preserved oil sketch which has not suffered from over-cleaning, the drawing is still active; and as for the highlights, there too drawing is implied, because Rubens did not like to operate with flat tones. These two criteria, as the exhibition showed, are evident throughout his whole development, and are already characteristic in the highly important early sketch of *Samson and Delilah* from the Art Institute of Chicago (cat. 28). Where they are lacking, however, as for instance in the sketch from the Nelson-Atkins Gallery, Kansas City, representing the *Battle of Constantine and Maxentius* (cat. 34), the total impression is somewhat deficient too, and we do not find the plastic and pictorial accents that distinguish the more convincing sketches and clarify the forms in space, even in such crowded compositions. A comparison of the Kansas City sketch with the one from the Johnson Collection (cat. 33), also from the Constantine series and representing *The Emblem of Christ Appearing to Constantine*, will make this clear. The conclusion would be that the former is only an old copy, whether from Rubens' workshop or from the eighteenth century when the great Fleming's art was much in demand is hard to say. There was another sketch from the Johnson Collection, however, which fell down in this exhibition. It represents the *Reconciliation of the Romans and the*

Sabines (cat. 49). The grisaille character in this case is unconvincing. As far as I can see, Rubens does not apply his highlights so evenly, without contributing to a more thorough modeling, without a vigorous interaction of the different layers and coöperation between drawing and painting.

Rubens' oil sketches, of course, can show differing degrees of finish or execution. The coloristic effect can be carried pretty far, as in *Briseis Given Back to Achilles* (cat. 37), in the *Last Supper* (cat. 32), or the magnificent large sketch for Whitehall, *England and Scotland Crowning the Infant Charles I* (cat. 41). Still these three maintain the genuine sketch character with vivid draughtsmanship of the brush in the lights and the darks, the latter often translucent browns. Sometimes, however, as in the *Hercules and the Lion* (cat. 29), the barest minimum of tones is given with supreme economy. And there are cases that lie in between these extremes, like the beautiful study from the Metropolitan Museum for the *Triumphal Entry of Henry IV into Paris* (cat. 39).

As for the crucial question of what can really be called a *modello* (a much abused term), this exhibition did not give a clear answer. The large sketch from Detroit with the equestrian portrait of the *Archduke Ferdinand at the Battle of Nördlingen* (cat. 47) has been called a *modello*, as the catalogue informs us, and may well be one; but as an original totally by Rubens' own hand it does not carry full conviction in all its parts. The horse's forequarters, for instance, or the flying genius above, do not compare favorably with similar forms in such late sketches as the above-mentioned one for Whitehall (cat. 41) or the two masterful sketches for the *Entry of Ferdinand into Antwerp* (*Quos Ego*, cat. 43 and *The Meeting of the two Ferdinands at Nördlingen*, cat. 44). If the equestrian portrait is the original *modello*, then Rubens allowed his pupils to carry it out from a smaller sketch which was totally by his own hand, and he may have given it some finishing touches. Here, however, is a case where one hesitates to be over certain. The condition (abrasion in some parts) may be a reason for the lack of a fuller effect throughout.

As for the drawings, the variety was not quite as great. The brilliant chalk drawings in the *trois crayons* manner—which are the glory of the Albertina—were not at all represented. From Rubens' Italian period there were some interesting studies after classical sculpture (cat. 1 and 5), showing the imperfection of the young master's hand as well as his strong individuality. The beautiful *Landscape with Farm Buildings* from the Morgan Library, a pen drawing richly enlivened by water color (cat. 9), belongs to a disputed group in which this and the equally powerful Berlin landscape are outstanding. It is hard to

imagine that a minor hand is responsible for these. But one drawing of this group of landscapes, in the British Museum, shows the date 1606 on its back. If that date was put on by the draughtsman himself, Rubens' authorship is excluded, because all these drawings represent motifs from the environs of Antwerp, and in 1606 Rubens was in Italy. However, it will be hard to find another landscapist of that caliber in the first decade of the seventeenth century.

Drawings for engravings are comparatively well represented, and here the problem of authenticity is not always easy to solve. If they are too detailed, one can say in their favor that in this case the artist was forced to consider the function and to guide the engraver's hand. Still, one hesitates to accept such pen drawings after antique heads as the *Hercules* (cat. 24), the *Seneca* (cat. 13), the *Nero* (cat. 27), as by the master's own hand, although the Rubens literature has accepted them. They are either too pedantic or lacking in surety and expression. And the drawing of the *Sorrows of the Virgin* (cat. 18), it seems to me, is more likely to have been done by an engraver as a model for the print. Its execution is too labored and too even. But there are magnificent examples of large chalk drawings like the young *Daniel* of the Morgan Library (cat. 14; Fig. 2), the study for the Christ in the *Raising the Cross*, from the Paul J. Sachs Collection (cat. 8), and various others. Most interesting and a real discovery among these is the chalk drawing of *St. Gregory Nazianzus Subduing Heresy* (cat. 20), which in this exhibition could be compared with the oil sketch of the same subject, formerly in the Museum of Gotha, now in the Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo (cat. 31). Here one can realise the progress from the drawing to the oil sketch in the further dramatization of the subject and the strengthening of the foreshortened view for the ceiling painting. Only one of the large chalk drawings was unconvincing, that of a *Franciscan Friar* (cat. 17), which lacks the plastic articulation of Rubens' forms and shows a kind of empty largeness such as the drawings of the Bolognese School often exhibit.

Few, however, are the reservations on quality and authenticity which this writer can make about the exhibition that was on a very high level and one of the most stimulating and instructive in recent years.



Fig. 2. PETER PAUL RUBENS, *Study for Daniel in the Lions' Den*
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library



Fig. 3. GIORGIONE, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (detail)
Washington, D. C. The National Gallery of Art, S. H. Kress Collection



Fig. 1. Lombard Book of Hours (detail from page)
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery



Fig. 2. GIORGIONE, *Allegory*
Washington, D. C., Phillips Memorial Gallery

GIORGIONE IN AMERICAN MUSEUMS

By WILLIAM E. SUIDA

AGAIN and more than ever before, the general interest is focused on the great painter Giorgione da Castelfranco. Scarcity of biographical documentation and the small number of his authentic works have caused critics and art historians to indulge in speculation and phantasy.

Since the middle of the seventeenth century, side by side with trustworthy tradition, an arbitrary concept of Giorgione's art has evolved, based mainly on two errors: first, the confusion of Giorgione's works with those of the young Titian; secondly, the smuggling in of pseudo-Giorgionesque productions done by contemporary painters, as for instance by Pietro Vecchia. The criticism of the latter half of the nineteenth century, as that of Cavalcaselle and Morelli, has gradually helped to clarify the atmosphere. The ensuing result would have been better had Morelli—who rightfully recognized Titian's hand in the *Concert* in the Palazzo Pitti—not identified erroneously Giorgione's *Venus* of the Casa Marcello, mentioned in 1525, with the *Venus*, formerly in the Dresden Gallery, a typical work of Titian's, thus giving the impression of documentary evidence, whereas he was really confusing Giorgione with Titian. As a matter of fact, anyone who accepts the Dresden *Venus* as a work by Giorgione will be unable to prove why the other early Titians should not be by Giorgione. So, the pan-Giorgionesque art literature was started by Morelli and it subsequently led to the voluminous monographs by L. Justi and G. M. Richter. It became more and more evident that the concept of Giorgione's art was based on a painting not done by him, i.e., on the Dresden *Venus* rather than on any authentic work of the master of Castelfranco. For more than fifty years Morelli's mistake dominated art criticism without any contradiction. L. Hourticq in 1930 was first to give the Dresden painting back to Titian. In my book on Titian in 1933, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1935, and in *Art in America* in 1950, I followed in helping to clarify the question of the composition, irreconcilable with Boschini's description, and of the provenance of the *Venus*, which had never been in the Casa Marcello but in the Muselli Collection in Verona, where it was attributed to Titian.

Those writers who tried to picture the creative artist behind the paintings

attributed to Giorgione conceived him as a kind of proteus, able to assume several forms, which is a psychologically incomprehensible idea. Connoisseurship is based not only on the training of the eye but also on psychological understanding. Both faculties have to coöperate. The accurate observation of "Morellian" indications may be completely misleading if the spiritual characteristics of two works of art are contradictory. In other words, we must be able to conceive a plausible human being behind a group of productions in order to believe them to be one man's works. In reference to Giorgione both methods of research have failed, or were not applied. Who would seriously try to demonstrate that the landscape in the *Tempesta* and the landscape in the *Fête Champêtre* could have been conceived and painted by the same artist?

The Giorgione Exhibition in Venice, organized by Pietro Zampetti, was decisive in clarifying the so-called Giorgione problem. Never before, and probably never again will there be assembled such a great number of originals by Giorgione himself and by his immediate followers. More than twenty original paintings were in the exhibition, and less than ten of those that may reasonably be considered works by Giorgione's hand were missing. Since there is so much controversy among art historians regarding the attributions of single paintings, Professor Zampetti, when writing the catalogue, avoided giving any name in the title of the pictures, but quoted the different opinions in the text. However, in the second edition of the catalogue he included a list of those paintings that he considers authentic works of the master. I am pleased to say that I agree with the great majority of Professor Zampetti's list, have reservations only as regards a few items, and would also add two or three of my own to the list.

I know of five or possibly six originals by Giorgione in American museums. In order to understand their position within Giorgione's *œuvre* and the approximate date of their origin, we must insert them in a short survey of his activity as it appears to me after several decades of careful study.

The earliest manifestations of Giorgione's genius should be dated presumably before 1500. A certain connection with Carpaccio among the Venetians, the admiration for Schongauer's drawing and a youthful exuberance in the use of color are typical characteristics of Giorgione's early works. The *Madonna* at Oxford (Exhib. no. 10), the *Sacra Conversazione* in the Academy, Venice (Exhib. no. 8) and the *Adoration of the Magi* in the National Gallery, London, show close analogies with the *Holy Family* in the S. H. Kress Collection. This seems to be the most mature work within the group. The composition is new

and unique in comparison with the Venetian tradition. The impression made on him by Schongauer's engravings is transformed by his great and independent personality. The brilliant colors likewise surpass in lustre Bellini's tranquil harmonies and point in the direction of the path followed by certain painters who flourished more than a half a century later.

This may be the right place from the chronological point of view to mention those small panels that were evidently destined to decorate some exquisite pieces of furniture. Of this type four pieces are known today: two in the Padua museum (Exhib. nos. 12 and 13), one in the Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington, D.C. (Fig. 2), and one in the S. H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. The little poem of transitoriness which the fine connoisseur Mr. Duncan Phillips has added to the Phillips Memorial Gallery—an old man staring at a sand glass which, never stopping, devours the short hours left of his life, while a youthful genius playing sweet melodies mitigates his melancholy—is the most impressive among these pieces. The sunset in this panel precedes other analogous effects painted by Giorgione in later years. The gentle musician in Giorgione's painting came to my mind when I saw an analogous tiny figure in a Book of Hours in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Inv. 10.323, Lombardy, first half of the fifteenth century (Fig. 1). Disregarding the possibility that this particular book illustration might have been known to him, we can very well imagine that Giorgione was more attracted by poetic dreams of a remote past than by the energetic realism of the advanced Quattrocento.

The small landscape with the figures of Venus and Cupid in the S. H. Kress Collection, National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (Fig. 5), probably does not belong to the same series as the other three, in spite of its being approximately the same size. The Venus recalls in attitude, but not in detail and colors, Giovanni Bellini's figure in a boat, Academy, Venice (Fig. 4). The stylistic ties of this very delicate little painting with Giorgione are definitely closer than with the works of Andrea Previtali, whose name has been suggested. Comparison with the four small Giorgionesque panels rightly attributed to Previtali in the National Gallery, London, fully demonstrates the diversity.

A second phase of Giorgione's activity may be dated tentatively within the first lustrum of the sixteenth century (1500-1505). There is some reason for doing so. The portrait of a boy with a big helmet in the Vienna gallery, identified with the young Francesco Maria della Rovere, was painted in 1502-1503 when the young heir to the ducal throne of Urbino was being kept for reasons

of safety in Venice. The exquisite quality of the brushwork in the well-preserved part down from the shoulders convinced also my friends M. Modestini and P. M. Bardi of Giorgione's authorship. The coloristic delicacy as well as the rendering of a mirror effect make this work significant and interesting. It is the work of a fully developed master. The bust portrait of a young warrior in the National Gallery in Edinburgh is related in style to the Vienna portrait. It is possibly identical with a painting described by Ridolfi as a work of Giorgione's (1648, ed. Hadeln I, 106): "un giovinetto parimente con molle chioma, et armatura, nella quale gli reflette le mano di esquisita bellezza," another mirror effect. I intend to study carefully this question in the near future.

Other works of that period are: The *Three Ages*, composition of half figures, in the Palazzo Pitti (Exhib. no. 41); the profile portrait, probably of *Girolamo Marcello*, in Vienna (Exhib. no. 34); the young *Giovanni Borgherini with his Tutor* in the Cook Collection; and finally the old woman *Col Tempo* in the Academy in Venice (Exhib. no. 23).

Contemporaneously with these portraits and half figures several of the most famous paintings were done: The *Adoration of the Shepherds* (the Allendale *Nativity*) (Figs. 3 and 6) in the S. H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (the studio replica in Vienna, Exhib. no. 9), the *Madonna in a Landscape*, of the Hermitage (Exhib. no. 138), the *Altarpiece* of Castelfranco (Exhib. no. 11), and the *Judith* of the Hermitage. The *Nativity* seems to have been known by Fernando Yanez de la Almedina when he painted the analogous biblical scene in 1505 in Valencia. The Kress-Allendale *Nativity* is one of Giorgione's most illuminating masterpieces. It gives an idea of the multi-formity and audacity of his achievements as a painter. The *Portrait of a Poetess* with laurel branches in the background, in Vienna (Exhib. no. 15), dated 1506, gives the *terminus ante quem* for this group of Giorgione's works.

What Giorgione accomplished in the last four years of his short life, from 1506-1510, is amazing, even incredible: the *Tempesta* (Exhib. no. 22), the *Three Philosophers* in Vienna (Exhib. no. 16), the Fondaco frescoes, finished in 1508, the large composition of the *Judgment of Solomon* in Kingston Lacy (not finished, center figure and figures at the right by Giorgione), a number of half figures, in Vienna, Hampton Court (Exhib. nos. 18, 19), and the *Self-Portrait as David* (Exhib. no. 20).

Two works of Giorgione's last years are in American museums: the portrait dated 1508(?) in San Diego and the three-figure composition in Detroit (Exhib. no. 43; Fig. 1). The San Diego head gives a very good idea of the



Fig. 4. GIOVANNI BELLINI, *Allegory*
Venice, Academy



Fig. 5. GIORGIONE, *Venus and Cupid*
Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, S. H. Kress Collection



Fig. 6. GIORGIONE, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (detail)
Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, S. H. Kress Collection



Fig. 7. GIORGIONE, TITIAN and SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO,
The Appeal
The Detroit Institute of Arts

master's delicacy in the use of *sfumato*. In the Detroit painting only the man in the center is by Giorgione, the woman in profile is perhaps by Sebastiano, the woman in white is certainly by Titian, who after Giorgione's death evidently finished the painting. He had to harmonize the whole picture by over-painting parts of it, thus giving it a pictorial unity that brought it the well-deserved triumph in the Palazzo Ducale exhibition.

The interpretation of the subject, several times discussed, but never satisfactorily answered, has to start from the monogram forming a kind of agraffe on the man's cap. This so far has not been followed. My friend P. M. Bardi has complemented the letters A H C to: "Amor, Honor, Concordia". I think it is an excellent idea to see allegorical personifications in these figures rather than historical or mythological persons. In following Bardi's basic idea I am thinking of the dedication inscription of the Scuola della Carità (today Accademia di Belle Arti) in Venice:

*Charitate in Amore in Humanitate
pauperes antecessores
edificarerunt MCCLX
Successores vero restaurarerunt MDLXVI*

(cf. F. Sansovino, *Venezia Città Nobilissima*, ed. Martinoni, 1663, p. 282, which gives a somewhat incorrect text.)

Should we call the three figures in the Detroit painting "Charitas, Amor, Humanitas"? Certainly at the time when it was painted its significance was known, I would not say to everybody, but at least to a number of people. The connection with a public institution, such as the Scuola della Carità, would explain the existence of a considerable number of old copies, of which one is in the building of the old Scuola itself, in the storeroom of the Academy.

Giorgione's paintings that have come to America illustrate all the phases of his development. Moreover, they give an idea of his personality and of the wide range of his art. When we consider Giorgione's historic position we should always bear in mind what Raphael's would have been had his life ended in 1510, and his activity with the Disputa del Sacramento. Within this chronological limit Giorgione has created works such as the *Nativity*, Allendale-Kress, the *Tempesta*, the *Three Philosophers*. Worlds of new pictorial possibilities were opened. The transparency of the epidermis in the Virgin's face anticipates Vermeer; the all-embracing evening sun, which seems to take off

the weight of massive buildings, foretells Claude Lorrain's famous sunsets; the next to paint a landscape in magic illumination with lightning flashing through the air will be El Greco. All these are prophecies, visions of future possibilities, remaining isolated for decades or even centuries. Titian's glorious way goes in another direction. Although he was deeply influenced by the master of Castelfranco, he remains fundamentally different, and it should not be possible to confuse the works of these two geniuses. Their personalities are the opposite of each other: Giorgione introvert and contemplative; Titian energetic and active, on the whole a serene and cheerful character, whereas Giorgione inclines towards seriousness, almost to melancholy. Nobody will forget the deep, almost tragic sadness in the glance of the old woman *Col Tempo*, of the old man in the *Three Ages*, of the unknown sitter of the San Diego portrait.

Equal in number and in importance were the Titians in the Venetian exhibition. The opportunity to have more than twenty, and among them some of the most prominent originals by Titian, all prior to 1520, side by side with Giorgione's works, was very instructive. It certainly will help to clarify this most intricate problem that still obscures the general concept of Giorgione's art. By chance six of these pseudo-Giorgiones, which are really Titians, were lent by American museums and collections. But we had better discuss them another time, for we should have to deal with a number of new problems.

NOTES ON OLD AND MODERN DRAWINGS

REMBRANDT AND MANTEGNA*

By JAKOB ROSENBERG

SEVERAL cases are known of Rembrandt's contact with the art of Mantegna. To these I should like to add here one which is still unpublished. It has been mentioned briefly in Arthur M. Hind's *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings* in the section on Mantegna, but, as far as I know, it has remained unnoticed in the Rembrandt literature and has not yet been reproduced anywhere. This case will give us an opportunity for a brief reconsideration of the much-discussed problem of the influence of Italian Renaissance art on the mature Rembrandt.

With this introduction I refer to a drawing (Fig. 2) which recently came into the Walter C. Baker Collection in New York and is, I believe, a copy by Rembrandt's own hand after Mantegna's famous engraving of the *Entombment* (Fig. 1). The drawing was once in the Peter Lely Collection, which was formed after the middle of the seventeenth century and dispersed soon after Lely's death. Also the technical aspects of the drawing support the claim to authenticity. It is executed on Japanese paper, like Rembrandt's copies after Indian miniatures which belong to the same years, and are done in the same technique of pen and wash. The Baker drawing, however, shows red chalk lines underneath. In some of the Indian miniature copies red chalk is added to increase the coloristic effect, but is not found underneath. An underdrawing in red chalk occurs in Rembrandt's early copy after Leonardo's *Last Supper* and again in a copy after a so-called Bellini drawing in Vienna which dates as late as our drawing and is also on Japanese paper. This Vienna drawing is somewhat weaker than the Baker drawing, but the final pen lines on top seem Rembrandt's own.

The drawing in the Baker Collection may have a slight retouching in the

* This paper was presented at the International Congress of Art History in Venice (September, 1955) but has not appeared in print.

darker parts of the wash but on the whole the condition is fine. The sheet has been enlarged by Rembrandt himself. He obviously found it too narrow in the process of copying. It is evident that the lines in the upper horizontal 'duns which has been added, are Rembrandt's own. Pen and wash here are definitely of the same kind as in the lower part. The size of the drawing is considerable: 11 x 15 inches, but it still remains about one-fourth under the size of the Mantegna print. Therefore the artist could not have started by tracing the original; rather he introduced, already in the red chalk under-drawing, the various changes that mark this copy and reflect Rembrandt's own interpretation. One notices first the disappearance of the landscape and the elimination of one figure on either side: on the left the rather conspicuous Magdalene with her dramatic gesture of sorrow is omitted; on the right the woman crouching below St. John. As for the position of the figures, we see that on the right the group with the woman bending over the swooning Virgin is brought closer to the central figure (who can be identified as Joseph of Arimathea) and is raised in height. And the man on the extreme left who in the Mantegna leans back, forming an almost straight diagonal while holding the shroud, in the Rembrandt is bending his head forward close to the head of Christ. His features resemble those of Nicodemus in the painting of the *Descent from the Cross* in the National Gallery, Washington. The presence of Nicodemus at the Entombment is reported in the Gospel of St. John.

The facial expressions in the drawing have, in general, taken on something of the peculiar depth and character of Rembrandt's idiom. With Mantegna the glances of most of the figures are directed downwards, thus isolating each one in its place. With Rembrandt, on the other hand, we notice a tendency to a more intense interrelationship within the group, whether we look at the woman behind Christ, the tall central figure we call Joseph of Arimathea, who faces St. John, or the mourning woman behind the swooning Virgin. The headdress of this woman is transformed into flowing hair, and this seems to signify that she now represents the Mary Magdalene whom Rembrandt had removed from the group on the left. He also took liberties with the draperies, simplifying their folds and eliminating the fluttering ribbons in both men's and women's headdresses. All these changes effect a transformation of Mantegna's quattrocentesque excess of detail to a more monumental simplicity in the sense of the High Renaissance. Mantegna is, so to speak, represented in Raphaelesque terms, but of course in Rembrandt's language, with his peculiar intimacy of expression and with a more painterly touch. In any case,

a broader rhythm goes through the composition, with two curves connecting the three figures standing in front. A counter curve on top pulls the whole design together. This kind of arched top we find not infrequently in Rembrandt's drawings and etchings of the fifties.

But why did the artist also change the inscription on the sarcophagus from Mantegna's *Humani Generis Redemptori* (to the Redeemer of Mankind) to *Pio et immortali Jesu Deo* (to the pious and immortal Jesus the God)? Did he perhaps copy a copy of Mantegna's print which showed this inscription? We do not know of any such copy and so we must ask why Rembrandt felt impelled to this change. Mantegna's inscription is beautifully executed and reflects the taste of a man who was intimately familiar with original Roman epitaphs. This impression is not lessened by the use of a traditional Christian formula. On the other hand, Rembrandt's inscription has not only a less classical flavor, it indicates more of a dilettante in Latin phrasing, and even a Mennonite touch because the combination of "pious" with "immortal" points to a Mennonite, rather than a Calvinist background, in view of the peculiarity of Mennonite christology and its doctrine of the imitation of Christ. I am indebted for this observation to Professor George H. Williams of the Harvard Divinity School, whom I consulted about this problem. There are many other indications of Rembrandt's closeness to the Mennonites; in fact, Baldinucci reports—and he had it directly from a Rembrandt pupil—that the artist belonged to this sect. So the observation of Professor Williams fits well into our knowledge of Rembrandt's religious affiliations.

We may now recall briefly the other known contacts of Rembrandt with the art of Mantegna and see how they relate to this one. There is first Rembrandt's copy after Mantegna's drawing of the *Calumny of Apelles*, both the original and the copy belonging to the British Museum. It may not be necessary to describe in detail the subject matter of this favorite theme in Renaissance art. Here Rembrandt follows Mantegna very closely, with the obvious intention of keeping a faithful record of a precious original, just as he did at the same time with Indian miniatures. Benesch rightly dates this drawing in the middle fifties, and says that at this time Rembrandt's technique of pen drawing was inspired by the delicate pen lines of Indian miniatures as well as by the diagonal hatching of early Italian engravings and drawings. Here again we find a slight insecurity in Rembrandt's Latin. In copying the inscriptions under or above the Mantegna figures he makes a few blunders which Hind has pointed out: for instance, when he says *inoratia* instead of *ignorantia* for the figure behind

the seated king with donkey's ears. Hind doubts that the drawing is as late as the fifties—at which time most of the copies after Italian Renaissance art occur—because of its very detailed character. But this detailed character is due to Rembrandt's closer following of the original, while the sensitive and characteristic touch of Rembrandt's mature penmanship is definitely felt.

The second known instance of a contact with Mantegna is that of the Madonna in Rembrandt's etching of the *Holy Family with the Cat* of 1654, in which the artist used Mantegna's engraving of the Virgin embracing the Child. The dependence is quite clear. Here Rembrandt obviously was struck by the expressive quality of the Mantegna group, which could hardly be intensified. He increased only slightly the intimate relationship between Mother and Child. Otherwise he strengthened both the "symbolical" and the "genre" content of the scene, the symbolical one by putting a serpent under the foot of the Madonna, the genre character by adding such details as the cat playing with the edge of the Madonna's skirt, or Joseph peeping into the room at this moment through the corner of the window.

And finally, there is the case of Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Deyman*, also of the mid-fifties (it is dated 1656), which, as many Rembrandt scholars have felt, reflects the influence of Mantegna's *Cristo in scurto* now in the Brera. Van Rijckevorsel, in his book on *Rembrandt en de Traditie* (1932), wanted to relate the motif of the sharply foreshortened corpse in Rembrandt's painting to a *Lamentation* by Orazio Borgianni. The latter, however, also depends heavily upon the Mantegna, yet does not show the shroud spread over the legs of Christ as it appears in both the Rembrandt and the Mantegna. Just as in the case of the Madonna, Rembrandt was obviously attracted here by the expressive quality of the motif. We do not know, however, whether he saw the original or only some kind of copy.

What, then, is the total picture of Rembrandt's relationship to Mantegna, and what is the significance of this phenomenon within the art of the mature Rembrandt? All four cases we have mentioned occurred at about the same time: the etching is dated 1654; the *Anatomy Lesson* 1656; and the two drawings are datable for stylistic reasons in the middle of the fifties. This fact of their common date close to 1656 makes it possible to relate all these instances to a book with prints and drawings, listed as belonging to the artist in Rembrandt's inventory exactly in this year. It was the time when he had to part with all his property, including his most cherished possessions, because of his financial collapse. Therefore it is understandable, as Valentiner once pointed out, that

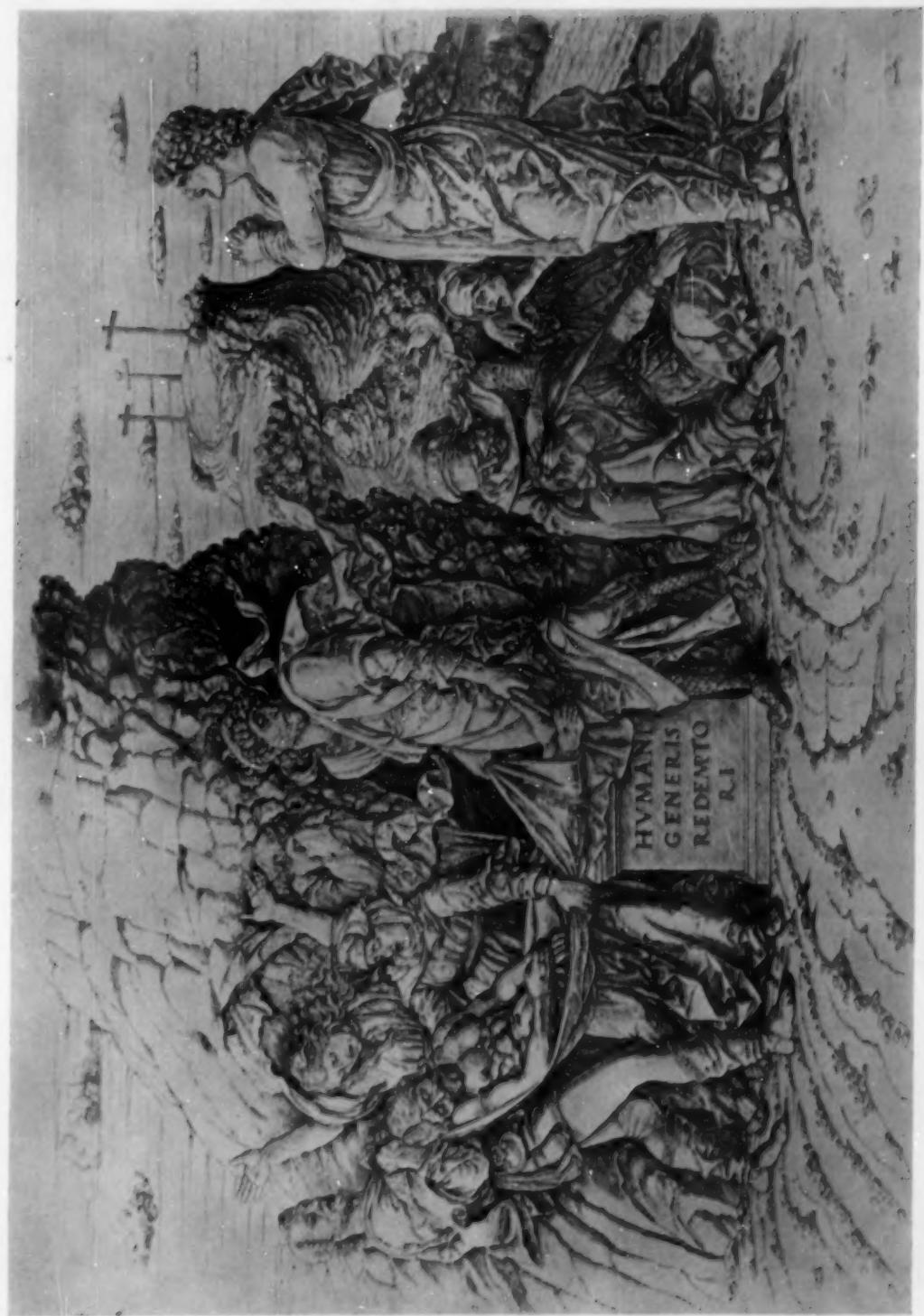


Fig. 1. ANDREA MANTEGNA, *Entombment* (engraving)



Fig. 2. REMBRANDT, *Entombment*
New York, Walter C. Baker Collection

Rembrandt made copies of these works. The Mantegna book was listed as *kosselijk* (precious). The same term recurs only once more, in the listing of a special group of Raphael prints, which were obviously very select, and rare Marcantonio engravings. And the Indian miniatures which, as we have said, Rembrandt copied at the same time, also occur in this inventory. At least it is generally assumed that the item "een boeck voll curieuse miniatuer teekeningen" (a book full of rare [or curious] miniature drawings) refers to them. Therefore it is rather important as a confirmation of the above assumption, that the Rembrandt copy after Mantegna which we introduce here was done in a similar technique and on the same rare paper as the copies after the Indian miniatures.

But Rembrandt certainly did not copy these items only because of their rarity and preciousness. Something must have attracted him and caused his desire to preserve a reliable visual record. With the Indian miniatures it was, above all, his interest in Oriental types, costumes and manners which he wanted to represent as authentically as possible in his biblical scenes. In fact, he used one of these Mohammedan Indian compositions for his etching of *Abraham Entertaining the Angels*, which is also dated 1656, the very year of his inventory. And as for the Mantegna copies, we have seen how Rembrandt was attracted by the expressive quality of certain motives and took them over into his work with modifications. And these were not the only cases that drew his special interest. The mature Rembrandt's susceptibility to the most varied kinds of art is documented by many more drawings, etchings and even paintings of these years in which, we can assume, objects of his collection are either copied or reflected. So we find drawings after Greek and Roman busts, copies of various Italian Renaissance drawings, a sketch after an Italian medal or relief representing Andrea Doria. The motif of a Pisanello medal occurs in one of his etchings (the late state of the *Three Crosses*) and there are also drawings after early Flemish portraits. It is clear, therefore, that a great diversity of works of art attracted Rembrandt, and they did so for various reasons; sometimes it was the curiosity of a costume or the finesse of a technique, sometimes the mere subject matter, as we can assume with a number of Lucas van Leyden prints from which Rembrandt derived a rare biblical theme without taking anything of the older master's composition. Or again it was the expressiveness of a motif that caught his attention and fancy as we saw with Mantegna. The graphic treatment of various schools and masters interested him, as Benesch and others have pointed out, and then, of course, compositional

ideas, as definitely happened with Raphael's designs, conveyed to him by Marcantonio's prints. Last but not least, Rembrandt was drawn toward the pictorial breadth and tonal beauty of the great Venetian Renaissance masters, as has often been noticed in his late paintings.

This unusual range of interests and impressions did not, however, result in all cases in influences of the same depth and significance. No doubt in his mature period, more specifically in the first half of the fifties, the most decisive influence was the compositional one, coming to him from High Renaissance art, from Raphael in particular. When we see two representations of the same subject, for example the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* in the early etching of 1634, with its highly involved Baroque design and romantic theatricality, and then in a drawing of the early fifties, formerly in the Hofstede de Groot Collection, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Val. 290), with its classical grandeur and simplicity, it becomes quite evident that Rembrandt could hardly have developed from one to the other without a deep impression from Renaissance art. In this case the impression was transmitted, I believe, by Marcantonio's print traditionally called *The Five Saints* (it is, in fact, Christ in Glory between the Virgin and St. John, with St. Paul and St. Catherine below). From this print Rembrandt drew the compositional lesson of the main motif in its relation to the figures on the ground, or let us say both the main motif and the general disposition. And this is only one of a number of similar instances.

Also simultaneously with the Raphael influence, but gradually superseding it in importance, came that of the great Venetian Renaissance masters, whether Rembrandt met with them in originals by Titian, Giorgione or Palma, or only in works by their contemporaries which still reflect the character of Venetian art. I do not need to specify this influence, because much has been said about it in the past. I mention only two paintings: a portrait of a so-called *Captain* of 1658, and the picture of a *Juno*, a very late work of the sixties, which are among the recent discoveries and further proof to this point.

Coming back now to our Mantegna copy, we may say that it verifies both the mature Rembrandt's susceptibility to many forms of art (here to the North Italian Quattrocentist's expressiveness), and his strong leaning toward the High Renaissance style, since we saw how he transformed this Mantegna design in almost Raphaelesque terms.

Finally, I may conclude this short consideration of the phenomenon of the influence of Italian art on the mature Rembrandt with a remark which relates in a broad way to the general topic of this session and is perhaps worth adding:

the three greatest Northern artists, Dürer, Rubens and Rembrandt, all three, as is generally known, underwent repeatedly the influence of Italian art in their youth and in their maturity. But it was only in their maturity: with Dürer in 1506; with Rubens on his second visit to Madrid in 1628, when he copied so many Titians; and with Rembrandt in the mid-fifties, that they felt most intensely the painterly charm and grandeur of the Venetian Renaissance masters, and were inspired by them to a higher form of pictorial beauty.

A NEW ATTRIBUTION FOR A FAMOUS DRAWING

By FREDERICK HARTT

THE sadly faded and corroded drawing of a male profile in the Uffizi (Fig. 1, 2 and 3) is one of the most impressive portraits of the Quattrocento.¹ Few would contest Mr. Berenson's high estimate: "You may wander through all the precincts of Renaissance painting without finding a portrait superior to this profile in the qualities that are essential to a masterpiece."² But in analyzing a likeness of an unusual and compelling personality by a great master it is not always easy to separate the style of the artist from the attributes of the sitter. Perhaps this is why so many critics in studying the Uffizi drawing have been reminded of Paolo Uccello.³ The powerful physiognomy, so curiously strengthened rather than submerged by the towering headdress, certainly recalls the haughty personages who populate the *Noah* frescoes from the Chiostro Verde (Figs. 4 and 5). Yet despite this generic similarity, the only argument ever adduced in favor of such an ascription, some scholars have been disturbed. The pictorial quality of the chiaroscuro has even suggested the name of Masaccio,⁴ and one writer, while accepting the by now almost universal attribution to Uccello, finds no equal in all that master's work for so vibrant a surface modeling.⁵

Recently I attempted to fit the Uffizi drawing into a course of lectures on Quattrocento painting. It refused to take its generally recognized place. By mere palpation this was no Uccello. It was composed of a substance tougher and more resilient than the silvery spiderwebs of his known drawings, or the delicate linear cage underlying his painted heads. The implied structure of form and space, the concept of human character and destiny, the evidences of personal will embodied in this drawing, were not those of Uccello as we know him.

His extant production, passive, intellectual, exquisitely remote from reality, offers no such "iron tempered master of life."⁶ The heads from the cathedral clock, for all their Donatellesque poignancy, emerge from their circular frames like apparitions in a Cocteau film. They are as haunting, as delicately drawn, as the faces that detach themselves from the battle scenes where one might have expected heroes. Each head is formed by Uccello's obsessive geometrical



Fig. 1. HERE ATTRIBUTED TO ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO, *Portrait of an Unknown Man*
Florence, Uffizi (Photo about 1910)



Fig. 2. Same as Figure 1 (Photo 1930)



Fig. 3. Same as Figure 1 (Photo 1954)

vision of the world. The metallic features are so lightly incised into the spun surfaces of these spheroid crania as to accelerate rather than impede their revolution. The expression of the mysterious personage in the foreground of the *Deluge*, for example, resides less in the delineation of the features than in their precise moment in the total *élan* of the figure. In harmony with the consistent melodious flow of Uccello's drapery forms, reflecting his training under Ghiberti, the cap, the *mazzocchio* or the *cappuccio* is arranged in reciprocal rhythmic patterns which are, or appear to be, mathematically definable. The intricately balanced harmonies of Uccello leave little room for the harsh realities of human psychology.⁷

Can any of this abstract beauty be discerned in the Uffizi drawing? This head has no total shape, no measured linear revolution. It is the sum of a series of strongly projected features, each appearing along the contour as an irregular curve of great force and short duration, or along the surface as one in a succession of uniformly lighted muscular pulsations. The sequence of drapery folds is frequently arbitrary, the whole character of the surface tumultuous. Finally, what places the head beyond the possibility of authorship by Uccello, the master of stereometry, is that all its major elevations seem equally raised above the background surface. In short, the head was not drawn in one-point perspective.⁸ In the genuine works of Uccello every head is constructed first of all as a three-dimensional volume, with reference to a specific point of view. In the *Drunkenness of Noah*, when almost every detail has been destroyed by time and weather, the shadowy heads of Noah's sons (Fig. 5) still spin in space as smoothly as the rings of Saturn.

The illusory suggestion of Uccello's *Deluge* in connection with our drawing was exorcised for me by the photographs of Castagno's *Niccolò da Tolentino* taken after its recent cleaning (Figs. 6 and 7). When modern criticism has unanimously stripped a painter of every graphic attribution, it is hazardous indeed to attribute a drawing to him. We have no notion whatever of Castagno's drawing style. Even the newly discovered sinopia preparations, although in a sense they partake of the nature of drawing, fulfill a need quite different from that satisfied by the careful, preliminary study on paper. Nonetheless every formal and spiritual quality which ruled the drawing out as Uccello just as insistently prompted the name of Castagno. The sitter as the artist re-created him entered easily into a world inhabited by the solemn, passionate mountaineers around the table in the *Last Supper* at Sant' Apollonia, the rough saints under the cross in the arched *Crucifixion* from Santa Maria degli Angeli,

and the fierce young patrician in Washington, now so inexplicably labeled Pollaiuolo. The personality that recorded the terrible composure of our unknown Florentine, relentlessly sculptured by light against the dark brown wash, was familiar with an inner life of profound emotional stress. Only such an artist could have encompassed the tormented and sanguinary visions of St. Jerome in the desert, or dictated from a sickbed to the timid brush of Baldovinetti a Hell "con molte furie infernali," or while still an adolescent projected the hanged rebels of Anghiari in images of such frightfulness that decades after their destruction the Florentines could not forget them—or for that matter have endured for centuries an undisputed accusation of murder.

No other Quattrocento painter after Masaccio would have been capable of assessing the full powers of this mountainous face. The protuberant forehead, the ponderous nose, the lower lip flaring sharply outward and downward, the brutally twisted ear,¹⁵ even the tumbled masses of the headdress, are controlled and bound into a majestic unity by the force of the man's will, channeled through his open-eyed, horizontal gaze.

The conviction of the artist's temperamental identity can be reinforced by a few formal comparisons. Castagno, as we have seen, constructed his heads and indeed entire figures according to the arbitrary system underlying this portrait. The modeled masses and their contours are projected individually, with sculptural tactility, but with slight reference to Albertian perspective. The short, curvilinear bursts of the contours betray the artist's predilection for energetic and unruly curves, such as those formalized in terms of palmettes and compressed scrolls in Castagno's architectural ornamentation, or released to writhe in the hair of Pippo Spano, or *St. Miniatus* (Fig. 9) or Goliath.

Full profiles are not common in Andrea's work. Nevertheless a comparison is occasionally possible. The *Judas* from Sant' Apollonia (Fig. 10) is similarly modeled, and an analogous rhythmic character runs through the contours of the features. The ear is treated very like that in our drawing.¹⁶ And in both the base of the neck is fitted into a dip in the neckline of the garment just as it rises to vanish around the other side—a typical Castagno device.

But the head of the Niccolò da Tolentino offers the most striking affinities (Fig. 6). Although of necessity seen somewhat from below, the features are similarly modeled, lighted and contoured. The simplification of the elements, the heraldic isolation against the background, the sculptural rigidity of the whole image, even suggest that the Uffizi head belongs to the same phase in the artist's development. It is not particularly flattering to the subject of our

drawing that the rather frightening frescoed horse (Fig. 7) resembles him perhaps more closely than the rider. One fleshy motive after another in the animal's features finds its counterpart in those of the human subject.

The treatment of the headdress likewise recalls that of Niccolò. The *condottiere*'s cap boils out of the giant *mazzocchio* into puffy folds which, for all their apparent substance, are as unconcerned with the laws of gravity as is the huge *cappuccio* that swirls about the head of our unknown Florentine and clusters at the back of his neck. Within this disordered bulk of cloth taut folds wage with crumpled pockets that incessant nervous conflict so typical of Castagno's drapery motives. One can even find analogous fold sequences in the sinopia preparations recently discovered under the detached frescoes of the *Passion* in Sant' Apollonia (Fig. 11). Here the characteristic masses are seen in their skeletal essence.

A further scrap of stylistic evidence would seem to limit the dating of the Uffizi profile. The drawing of both eyelids is so maintained as to provide an analysis not only of their foreshortening as they curve around the spheroid of the eye, but also to accentuate their thickness. Despite the large and detailed studies of heads in which his early works abound,¹¹ Andrea does not seem to have been concerned with this kind of elaborate three-dimensional definition of the eye structure prior to the altarpiece for San Miniato fra le Torri (Fig. 9), executed in the last months of 1449 and the first of 1450.¹² But in spite of their bad state of preservation, I do not think the contours of our drawing could ever have been as sharp as those which prevail in this extremely linear phase of Castagno's career, which includes of course the *Uomini Illustri* from the former Villa Carducci-Pandolfini at Legnaia. In precisely this detail, again, our drawing is very close to the *Niccolò da Tolentino* of 1456, the year before the artist's death. The obliging horse, moreover, provides us with a similar sculptural definition, not only of the near eye, but of the off eye as well, which appears surprisingly foreshortened along the contour.

Who can have been the subject of this tremendous portrait? Surely not Leonardo Bruni, of whom Andrea was commissioned to paint a commemorative picture, now lost, for the Palazzo Vecchio after the great chancellor's death in 1444.¹³ Even if the features were Bruni's, which they are not, the date would be at least ten years out of the way. But does it really matter who this man was? For us he is a striking example of the phenomenal individual, endowed with unusual powers of determination, who gives a special character to the thought and art, the legend and the reality of the first two-thirds of the Quattro-

cento. The niches of the Campanile of S. Maria del Fiore, of Or San Michele, and the walls of the Brancacci Chapel are crowded with such personages, careless of physical comeliness but radiating moral force. Tragically aware of their own inner conflicts and of the brevity of their existence, these new individuals of the fifteenth century confront their destinies with an unprecedented belief in the grandeur of the human will. They have little in common with the grave and noble sanctity of Giotto's people, or the Oriental slyness and tired worldly wisdom of the characters that crowd through Giovanni da Milano, Andrea da Firenze or Agnolo Gaddi, and even less with the cynical indolence of Gentile's luxurious aristocrats. The sense of loss which so oppresses us when we turn from Masaccio, Uccello, Castagno and Piero to their successors among the fresco painters of the late Quattrocento derives partly from the fact that while the homely types persist, the magic is gone out of them, the will power evaporated. Far too often mere wooden images are left standing about in Ghirlandaio, suspicious and dispirited hypochondriacs in Filippino.

Vespasiano da Bisticci was obsessed by the belief that his century "abounded in every faculty with most singular men"¹¹ to the point of apotheosizing with remarkably similar formulae each subject in his gallery of contemporary portraits. Our drawing might well represent one of Vespasiano's heroes, forthright and magnanimous, capable at once of violent anger and complete self-mastery, of courageous decisions and of submission to divine will. He fully reflects the new dignity of the human personality celebrated by Giannozzo Manetti, who saw man as "dominus et rex et imperator in universo terrarum orbe,"¹² and the divine nature of his soul as most completely revealed by the phenomena of memory and will.¹³

We can scarcely lament our ignorance of our subject's name when Castagno has left us such a monument to the force of his personality. We possess no more vivid proofs of what Alberti calls the "divine force" of painting, "that puts in front of our eyes again those who for many and many years have been dead . . ." And if this five-hundred-years-departed shade persists in refusing to disclose to us his identity, or what we must imagine to have been his lofty position in the councils of the Florentine republic, perhaps he too has in mind an injunction of Alberti's, ". . . in a prince to speak little confers majesty . . ."

¹ Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe, no. 28E; 29 x 20 cm., modeled in brown ink on white paper, background tinted dark brown. Considerable differences are visible in the appearance of the drawing and in the sizes and shapes of the spots on it between one photograph and another. These differences are not entirely due to the varying techniques and ages of the photographs. Both drawing and photographs have recently been under prolonged technical study by Professor Augusto Vermehren in Florence. Dottoressa Giulia Simi-



Fig. 5. PAOLO UCCELLO, *Drunkenness of Noah* (detail)
Florence, Chiostro Verde



Fig. 4. PAOLO UCCELLO, *The Deluge* (detail)
Florence, Chiostro Verde



Fig. 6. ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO, Niccolò da Tolentino (detail)
Florence, Duomo

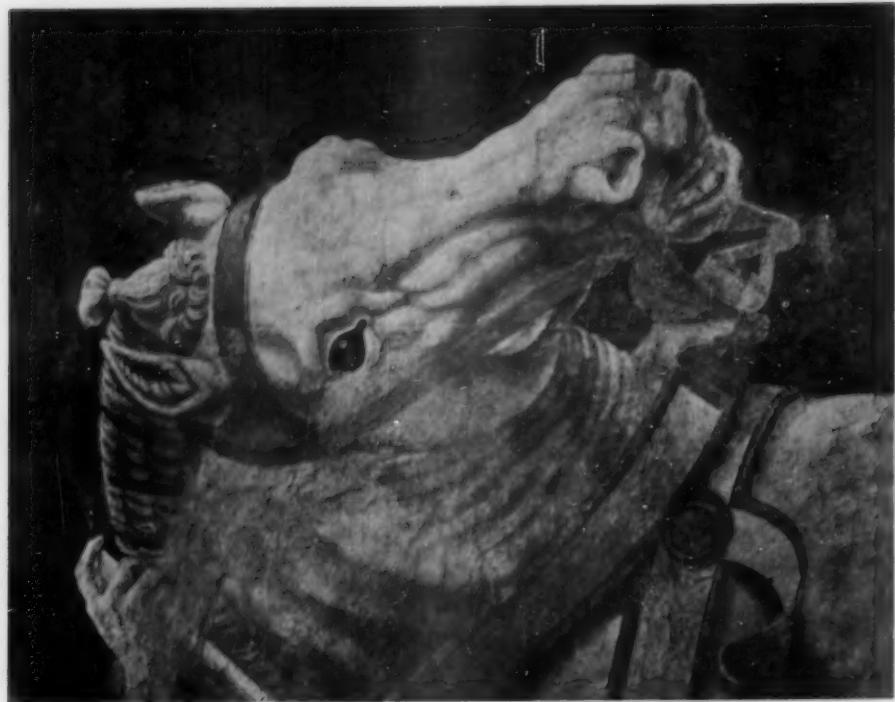


Fig. 7. ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO, Niccolò da Tolentino (detail)
Florence, Duomo



Fig. 9. ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO, St. Minias,
(detail from the Assumption of the Virgin)
Formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum



Fig. 8. MASACCIO, The Holy Trinity (detail)
Florence, Santa Maria Novella



Fig. 10. ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO, *Judas (detail from Last Supper)*
Florence, S. Apollonia



Fig. 11. ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO, *Sinopia drawing for Crucifixion*
Florence, S. Apollonia

baldi, Director of the Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe, has very kindly written to me that the situation regarding the drawing is still too uncertain to allow of any sure conclusions. She has observed, however, that the sizes and shapes of the spots, and at some points the apparent character of the modeling, vary visibly according to the changes in the humidity of the atmosphere, even in fully closed interiors. Ultraviolet photography has revealed that the sheet of paper was once covered with lines of writing, no longer in any way legible, and this suggests the hypothesis that the substance, as yet unidentified, which was used to erase the writing, is responsible for the present mysterious fluctuations. Figure 1 was taken in about 1910, Figure 2 in 1930, and Figure 3 in the spring of 1954. When I examined the drawing in the late autumn of 1954 and again in the summer of 1955 the modeling of the eye and mouth seemed considerably softer even than in Figure 3.

² Bernard Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, 1st ed., London, 1903, I, 15; I, 178, no. 2766; unchanged in 2nd ed., Chicago, 1938. The very force and conviction of these and the preceding phrases in Mr. Berenson's analysis of the portrait testify to the grandeur the drawing once possessed.

³ In addition to Berenson the following critics accept the drawing as Uccello: Pasquale Nerino Ferri, *Catalogo riassuntivo della raccolta dei disegni . . .*, Rome, 1890, I, 146; Raimond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1928, X 240; Ruth W. Kennedy, *Alessio Baldovinetti*, New Haven, 1938, p. 179; Mario Salmi, *Paolo Uccello, Andrea del Castagno, Domenico Veneziano*, Milan, 1938, p. 163; Wilhelm Boeck, *Paolo Uccello*, Berlin, 1939, pp. 48-49; Mary Pittaluga, *Paolo Uccello*, Rome, 1946, p. 16; Enrico Somarè, *Uccello*, Milan, 1946, p. 70; John Pope-Hennessy, *Paolo Uccello*, London, 1950, p. 150.

⁴ Hermann Beenken ("Zum Werke des Masaccio," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIII [1929-1930], 119) considered the attribution to Masaccio "wahrscheinlich," and underscored the lack of resemblance between the pictorial modeling of the Uffizi drawing in light and dark and the linear contours of Uccello's drawings. Alfred Stix and L. Fröhlich-Bum (Beschreibender Katalog . . . Albertina, Vienna, 1932, III, 4, no. 12) believed the Uffizi drawing to be the work of a "weniger energischen Meister von geringerem künstlerischen Vermögen, wie etwa Masolino." This unusually cautious sally was mistaken for an attribution to Masaccio himself by the compilers of the catalogue of the *Mostra di Quattro Maestri del Primo Rinascimento*, Florence, 1954, p. 65, no. 27.

⁵ Pittaluga, *op. cit.*, ". . . un modellato così palpitante da non aver riscontro in tutta la sua opera."

⁶ To borrow a phrase from Mr. Berenson (*loc. cit.*).

⁷ Pittaluga, *op. cit.*, felt keenly the discrepancy between the Uffizi drawing and the usual content of a work by Uccello: "Le caratteristiche fisionomiche, accentuate vigorosamente per necessità di stile, assumono un valore espressivo che va al di là d'ogni contingenza e attestano come Paolo, creatore di astratte forme cristalline, sappia, se voglia, fissare l'essenza individuale della fisionomia con una padronanza che l'inconsuetudine dell'intento rende anche più assoluta."

⁸ Again Dottoressa Pittaluga seems almost to be arguing against Uccello's authorship (*op. cit.*): "La posata profila esclude ogni presupposto di prospettiva geometrica; eppure i piani girano nello spazio con la più grande sicurezza . . ." One is reminded of Castagno's arbitrary perspective which, hollowing spaces and projecting masses with sublime disregard for the Albertian visual cone, nonetheless produces a near hallucination of spatial reality.

⁹ The ear is a problem in itself. Similarly distorted ears are to be found in the Albertina profile drawing S. R. 53 (Stix and Fröhlich-Bum, *op. cit.*) and in the donor kneeling to the left in Masaccio's *Holy Trinity* (Fig. 8), where the unfortunate feature is clearly folded down by the heavy *mazzocchio* above it.

¹⁰ In this case the caprine flare is apparently an attribute of bestiality.

¹¹ Especially the Sant' Apollonia frescoes, which must date from 1445 or shortly thereafter; cf. Giovanni Poggi, "Della data di nascita di Andrea del Castagno," *Rivista d'Arte*, XI, series II, year I, 1929, p. 59.

¹² Odoardo H. Giglioli, "A proposito di una tavola di Andrea del Castagno," *Rivista d'Arte*, III (1905), 90-91.

¹³ Poggi, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁴ *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*, ed. Florence, 1938, p. 10.

¹⁵ *De Dignitate et Excellentia Hominis*, Basel, 1532; quoted from Giovanni Gentile, *Giordano Bruno e il pensiero del Rinascimento*, Florence, 1925, p. 85. ¹⁶ Gentile, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

NOTE: Only after this article went to press was I able to consult Marita Horster, "Castagnos florentiner Fresken 1450-1456," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XVII, (1955), 79-131. Dr. Horster (p. 113) notes a strong resemblance between Castagno's *Tolentino* and the Uffizi drawing: "Diese beiden Köpfe scheinen von einer Hand gezeichnet." But under her fig. 96 she retains the Uccello attribution. Dr. Horster's ascription of Uffizi 110E, a drawing of two nudes, to Castagno (pp. 126 ff. and fig. 148) is hardly tenable. The drawing is probably, as Berenson pointed out, a copy after Pollaiuolo.

ARCHIVES OF AMERICAN ART

REPORT OF ACTIVITIES JANUARY—MARCH, 1956

RESEARCH for microfilming in the New York area is progressing systematically. Miss Mary Bartlett Cowdrey has made preliminary studies of the resources of the major collections and has started the microfilming with material in the Manuscript Room of the New York Public Library. Five rolls of microfilm have been completed and will be reported upon later.

ACQUISITIONS

FLORENCE N. LEVY COLLECTION. This is a group of 448 letters including a few calling cards with notes, about twenty subscription postal cards (dated 1905), thirty-three unidentified letters and ten from non-Americans which were written to Miss Levy, the founder and editor of the *American Art Annual*. The letters are mostly from artists and were written between 1898 and 1920. They supply new data and correct errors that appeared about them in print. A significant number of these names appear in early issues of the *American Art Annual* but not in Mantle Fielding—about five percent. The majority of the letters are from painters, illustrators and sculptors, but because of the comprehensive organization of the early annuals, there are also many letters from architects, collectors, dealers, teachers, museum officials, craftsmen, lecturers, librarians, writers, critics, political and social figures. This is only a fraction of Miss Levy's long and vigorous correspondence (the holdings of the New York Public Library will soon be on microfilm) but it affords a good picture of Levy the editor, and in its individual parts, analyzes a bit of the character of the writers.

HORACE PIPPIN (1888-1946) HOLOGRAPH DOCUMENTS. We acquired from Robert Carlen four autobiographical documents and one letter. The two-page undated letter is an effort to express his views on art. The autobiographies cover only his experiences in World War I; three (one of which is a fragment) are painfully written in block letters and have no sketches or references to his interest in art; the fourth is in cursive writing and has six crayon drawings of trench fighting and army life. Two of these drawings are reproduced in black and white in Seldon Raman's *Horace Pippin; A Negro Painter in America* (New York, 1947); all six are described and selections from the autobiography are quoted.

FEININGER-CHURCHILL COLLECTION. From Marie Churchill, the widow of Alfred Vance Churchill, we have acquired some very interesting early records of Lyonel Feininger (1871-1956). A series of letters signed "Leo," dating from 1890 to 1899 and addressed "My dear old Al," are written in a precise, small script. They are affectionate, gay and

intimate and show an exuberant boyish spirit. Delightful cartoons are interspersed with the writing. After a silence of several years two letters in 1913 in a larger, more careless script describe the change in his work: ". . . it takes years and years of strenuous, unremitting and critical work and self-desciplining to put forth a *new* form. And for my consideration, Art is ever *new*, being *Creation*. . . My work for the "papers" is at an end—there is no place for me there! The moment one goes one's own way, one is an outlaw. . . Well, I had about fourteen years of it, and never dreaming that there was for *me* such a thing in the world as *art*; that was something quite outside of my treadmill existence. The awakening came like a wonder, to me. It is now some five years since I commenced to work for myself. I wish I could send you something to give you an idea, at least, of my line of development . . . Above all, never, 'old Al, think me a "fadist"! I possessed the elements of so-called *cubism* before I had ever heard of such a thing or seen a cubistic painting—my work of five and more years ago shows already the tendency towards a new and absolutely *personal perspective* . . ." The last letter in this collection was written in 1920 and contains only comments on the difficulties of life in Germany after the war.

The Churchill collection includes several snapshots of Feininger and his children, a number of clippings and pamphlets containing references to his work, eleven cartoons from his early career as a cartoonist and illustrator and twenty-two photographs of paintings done from 1913 to 1930. A unique item is a scrapbook in which are mounted crayon and pencil sketches of Feininger's early work through 1913. The end of the scrapbook contains a number of drawings and watercolors by A. V. Churchill who assembled the scrapbook.

ALBERT DUVEEN COLLECTION. This consists of about 560 manuscript items, mostly letters by American artists of the middle and late nineteenth century. At one time Mr. Duveen intended to make a collection because, he wrote in answer to our question, "I felt at that time that the lack of information about American artists was appalling and that the reference material available was slender and badly organized. Now that the Archives of American Art are doing the very same thing that I as an individual could never have undertaken, I feel very pleased that the letters I did collect have found a proper home. As you probably may know, I have done a lot of research on American artists and in my efforts to find information about American artists, I was shocked at the great deal of misinformation that existed." In the Duveen collection there are twenty-three letters by Bierstadt; nine by F. E. Church; nineteen by F. S. Church; twenty-five by Constant Mayer; eleven by Albert Rosenthal; and a few each by Blashfield, James Champney, Timothy Cole, William Gibson, Eliza Greatorex, D. Ridgway Knight, Charles Robert Leslie, Emanuel Leutze, Jervis McEntee, Francis Millet, Henry Mosler, William Page, E. D. Palmer, William Partridge, Fernando Pettrick, Hiram Powers, Henry Ranger, Peter Rothermel, Ross Turner, Edwin Weeks, Anne Whitney, Worthington Whittredge, and others. Two letters of special interest, one by Rembrandt Peale dated September 8, 1855, Philadelphia, in which he gives a derogatory opinion of William Dunlap's *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of*

Design in the United States (New York, 1834), and further discourses about his reminiscences and advises his correspondent, an art historian, to "delineate nothing but truthful sketches" in his writings; the other by Henry Inman, who, in a long letter to his patron James McMurtrie (New York, February 8, 1838) discusses various matters concerning his work and incidentally asks "MsMurtrie" to find for him the best canvas obtainable in Philadelphia and send it on as he has no time to "run about after canvass." He describes his portrait of James M. Campbell, formerly of Philadelphia, and considers the composition of a painting in progress of a bishop. A group of documents of special interest are nine letters by Benjamin Silliman relating to the sale of Trumbull's estate, dated in 1843 and 1844. Theodore Sizer has had access to these papers for his works on Trumbull.

MARY BARTLETT COWDREY COLLECTION. Miss Cowdrey has sent us a bibliography of her writings as well as copies of many of the published monographs and periodical articles, files of notes, correspondence, photographs and clippings accumulated preparatory to writing and publication. An example of the completeness of this material is a group of papers concerning George H. Durrie (1820-1863). There are about 150 pages of "Notes"; well filled folders labeled published reproductions, research, notes, H. T. Peters and Hartford, public institutions, private collections, dealers collections, correspondence 1947 and after; and a typescript of Durrie's diary, January 1, 1845 to July 1, 1846 (99 pp.). Recognition of Miss Cowdrey's study of Durrie is given in the catalogue of the Wadsworth Atheneum's loan exhibition of his work held in 1947: "Particular thanks. . . for her delightful and informative introduction to the catalogue, and for lending us her copious notes on Durrie which have been of great assistance in assembling the exhibition." In collaboration with Hermann Warner Williams, Jr., Miss Cowdrey prepared a monograph on William Sidney Mount (1806-1868). With Mr. William's permission the notes on Mount have also been presented to the Archives. A large number of miscellaneous items have also been included: clippings; photographs; reproductions; sales catalogues; exhibition catalogues; etc.

VICTOR D. SPARK, dealer in American and Continental paintings, drawings and art objects, has sent a first installment of photographs from his file of sold paintings. With tedious effort he and his wife Nina have searched the first half of the file and have sent 300 photographs of paintings by American artists. We are looking forward to a rainy week-end so they will finish the job and we will have the last installment. In addition to the photographs Mr. Spark has sent seventeen mid-nineteenth century pamphlets which are helping to fill in that area of the Archive's collection.

Malcolm Vaughn has also sent a first installment of material from his files: miscellaneous exhibition catalogues; gallery announcements; publicity releases; etc. This installment covers items he received from October to December 1931 during the time he was art critic for the *New York American*.

HEALY-DE MARE PAPERS. Marie de Mare, granddaughter of the artist G. P. A. Healy

(1813-1894), has presented to the Archives her file of correspondence, notes, clippings, drafts and proof of her book on Healy which was published in 1954. The papers include some correspondence between Healy relatives and other letters written to Healy.

ARLINE CUSTER, *Librarian*

THE ADAMS MEMORIAL BY AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

By ERNST SCHEYER

THE Adams Memorial in Rock Creek cemetery, Washington, D.C., by Augustus Saint-Gaudens (Fig. 1) holds a unique position in the work of the great American sculptor. Its stark simplicity chiefly effected through its emphasis on geometrical form; its stress on material, texture and color; the complete absence of inscription and the restraint in conventional ornamentation make it a forerunner of tendencies fully developed in our contemporary sculpture. Rarely were such qualities found in the last quarter of the previous century and least of all on grave monuments in America or elsewhere.

It is our contention that it was the interaction of two creative minds, that of the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens and of the writer Henry Adams, which accounts for this exceptional situation. The memorial has two creators, Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Henry Adams, with their mutual friend the painter John La Farge acting as intermediary. The very close coöperation—fruitful though it turned out to be—created a situation fraught with conflict for both artist and client during the time the memorial took shape, and continues to challenge the historian to a delicate surgical operation in attempting to separate the contributions of the two men amalgamated in the work.

The genesis of the work and our research starts with a suppressed and rightly forgotten work by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, the statue of *Silence*, commissioned by L. H. Willard in the early 1870's for the principal staircase of the Masonic Building on the corner of twenty-third Street and Sixth Avenue in New York City.¹ The marble is as slick as any routine piece of the Beaux Arts tradition in the style of Pradier, to which Saint-Gaudens had been exposed during his study years in Paris. Saint-Gaudens was later anything but proud of it. "The less said about that statue the better," he wrote in his brief *Reminiscences*. Yet one must concede to that early work, executed in Rome, a certain importance as a forerunner of the Adams Memorial, though neither its creator nor his son Homer Saint-Gaudens mention any connection between these two works.

The connection lies, however, not so much in what Saint-Gaudens did in

this statue but in what he wanted to do and could not realize. His letters reveal that. On August 26, 1873, he wrote to Willard:

It is not Egyptian . . . and it is far more impressive than it could be in the Egyptian style. She has a fine drapery over the body that gives a pleasing character, and a heavy kind of veil that covers the head, drooping over the face so that it throws the face in shadow and gives a strong appearance of mystery.

. . . the subject being abstract, I think it better after all not to follow any exact style, for the reason that Silence is no more Egyptian than it is Greek or Roman or anything else. I think in that case "Le Style Libre" is the best.³ [italics mine]

The reluctance to execute in any given style, the heavy veil throwing the face into shadow, the appearance of mystery, the very subject matter of an abstract nature, all these are also characteristic features of the Adams Memorial.

The letter written three years later to J. Q. A. Ward, the Dean of American sculpture, reveals even more of the probably subconscious connection between *Silence* and the Adams Memorial. Ward had praised the statue; Saint-Gaudens, however, thought that *Silence* did not do him justice because of the "restrictions forced upon [him]" and he continues: "Had I had my own way completely I would have created an entirely different thing, with broad, heavy drapery instead of its being very fine. *The left hand would have crossed the body sustaining the drapery and would have been entirely concealed.*"⁴ (italics mine)

The broad, heavy drapery, the left hand entirely concealed crossing the body and sustaining the drapery—that is what Saint-Gaudens realized in the so-called Adams Memorial. Originating as a grave for Henry Adams' wife Marian, who died tragically by suicide in 1885, it was from the very beginning conceived to transgress individual tragedy and individual commemoration. Encompassing, as we shall see, the widower's most profound thoughts on life and death, it was intended also for his final resting place and has as such become a serene spot of meditation and consolation for all who approach it in his spirit. Since Henry Adams insisted with a great deal of irritation that no official name should be given to the statue, it seems least objectionable to refer to it as the "Adams Memorial," as has lately become the custom.

The personal relations between Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Henry Adams started only a few years after the completion of the early *Silence*. The archi-

tect H. H. Richardson brought them together at the time of the building of Trinity Church in Boston, in which they all coöperated.¹ The first time, however, that the name Augustus Saint-Gaudens is mentioned in the writings of Henry Adams is some ten years later, in the letters of 1886. Adams had left, as though in sudden flight, his newly completed house in Washington, the place of his wife's death. To seek Nirvana in the Far East was his avowed aim. His intimate friend John La Farge accompanied him on this pilgrimage. On their way to embark for Japan they "passed a delightful night with King, Saint-Gaudens, etc."² But it seems rather improbable that the project for the grave monument was discussed on that occasion. Adams mentioned, however, in a letter from Papeete on February 10, 1891, to his "factotum" Thomas F. Dwight (which we shall quote in full later) that Saint-Gaudens had occupied himself with the statue for "nearly five years," which would place the beginnings of it in 1886. But we may assume that this refers to the end of the year 1886 after Adams' return from Japan. In any case, the trip to Japan, and Adams' contact with Buddhism and the Kwannon, were of the greatest consequence for the ideas expressed in the monument, or, as James Truslow Adams states it, "Mood and thought for the Adams Memorial had come to Adams on his first trip with La Farge."³ It was only a few months afterwards that these "moods and thoughts" ripened into a definite plan.

The circumstances of the first serious discussion of the Adams Memorial in Saint-Gaudens' studio late in 1886 have been unearthed through the researches of H. D. Cater,⁴ who found among the Saint-Gaudens papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress a press clipping from the *Evening Star* for Monday, January 17, 1910, p. 13, which describes an interview given by John La Farge to Gustav Kobbe. Cater describes the interview:

In this interview John La Farge explained that he was present when Henry Adams gave the commission to Saint-Gaudens. *After La Farge and Adams returned from Japan* [italics mine], the former helped Adams decide that the memorial should symbolize the Japanese Kwannon. La Farge: "Mr. Adams described to him in a general way what he wanted, going, however, into no details, and really giving him no distinct clue, save the explanation that he wished the figure to symbolize 'the acceptance, intellectually of the inevitable.' Saint-Gaudens immediately became interested, and made a gesture indicating the pose which Mr. Adams' words had suggested in his mind. 'No,' said Mr. Adams, 'the way that you're that is a Pensero.' Thereupon the sculptor made several other gestures until one of them

struck Mr. Adams as corresponding with the idea. As good luck would have it, he would not wait for a woman model to be brought in and posed in accordance with the gesture indicated by the sculptor, so Saint-Gaudens grabbed the Italian boy who was mixing clay, put him into the pose, and draped a blanket over him. That very blanket, it may be stated here, is on the statue, and forms the drapery of the figure. 'Now that's done,' said Mr. Adams, 'the pose is settled. Go to La Farge about any original ideas of Kwannon. I don't want to see the statue till it's finished.' "

All Mr. La Farge did was to read stories of Kwannon to Saint-Gaudens.

The first recorded mention of the project, then already in an advanced state, by Adams himself, occurs five years later in his correspondence. He writes to Thomas F. Dwight from Papeete, January 25, 1891, during his second trip to the Orient with La Farge:

The only matter much on my mind is Saint-Gaudens' bronze and Stanford White's construction. I earnestly hope to hear soon that this work at last is complete. It has caused me more anxiety than all my other affairs put together. If you can tell me this, you will tell me the best news you can send.⁸

And from Papeete on February 10, 1891:

On arriving here a week ago, I found a bundle of letters from you, all very satisfactory except in regard to Saint-Gaudens. Your previous letter had prepared me for that disappointment, so that it was less trying than it would otherwise have been. Apparently both Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White are afraid to write to me, and perhaps it is best they should not. I should either have to leave their letters unanswered, or express myself in a way that would do no good. White knows already my feelings on the subject, and I think Saint-Gaudens must suspect them, if no more. So I will continue my silence, as far as concerns them, and will wait to see where they are coming out. At times I begin to doubt whether Saint-Gaudens will ever let the work be finished. I half suspect that my refusal, to take the responsibility of formally approving it in the clay, frightened him. Had I cared less about it, I should have gone to see it, as he wished, and should have admired it as much as he liked, but I had many misgivings that I should not be wholly satisfied with his rendering of the idea; and that I might not be able to conceal my disappointment. So I devolved the duty on La Farge, and I know not what qualifications La Farge may have conveyed to Saint-Gaudens' mind. I knew well that I should only injure Saint-Gaudens' work without obtaining my own ideal by suggesting changes, for the artist is usually

right in regarding changes, not his own, as blemishes. From the first I told Saint-Gaudens that he should be absolutely free from interference. The result is that after nearly five years I am not certain that his work will ever be delivered, although contract after contract, one more binding than another, has been signed without question or discussion on my part.

I tell you all this that you may be able to explain my situation in case of difficulty. I still trust that by the time this letter arrives, Saint-Gaudens will have delivered the bronze, and Norcross may be able to go on. If not, I suppose some explanation will be voluntarily given. I shall be very sorry indeed to have to demand one, but if May should arrive—a whole year after contract time—without producing the work, I shall have to call for some serious decision.⁹

This strong letter which accuses sculptor and architect nearly of breach of contract, must have had the desired effect, because Adams mentions in the next letter to Dwight from Papeete, on June 2, 1891, that he had received photographs of the completed work.¹⁰ Norcross (whose name is mentioned in the preceding letter) must have been employed in setting up the statue in Rock Creek Cemetery. Norcross Brothers was a firm of builders often employed by the Richardson office. The letter of June 2 to Dwight runs as follows:

I will not make up my mind from the photographs, whether I am entirely satisfied with the work. I cannot be quite sure of my own feeling until I see it. At any rate the photographs make certain that I shall not *dis-like* it, which is a vast comfort to me, who have dreaded hating it. Of course I cannot hope that my own thoughts passing through another man's mind, and hands, will come out in a shape familiar to me; my only anxiety is to know that the execution is better than the ideal.

Very similar ideas are expressed by Henry Adams in a letter to his brother Charles Francis from Sidney, Australia on August 3, 1891:

I find on arriving here your kind letter of May 3, on the subject of St. Gaudens' figure. It is natural that St. Gaudens should be nervous about the impression I might get of it, for I was myself so nervous about his success that I refused even to meet him from the moment he began the model, and persisted in the refusal till I left. As my friends are determined that I shall be satisfied with the work, I am at least relieved of heavy anxiety on their account, though I can't help still looking forward with a little dread to my own

first sight of it, not because I doubt that his artistic rendering of an idea must be better than my conception of the idea, but because the two could hardly be the same, and what is his in it might to me seem to mix badly with the image that had been in my mind. No doubt, time and familiarity with the work would set me right, but the first sense of a jar might be nasty . . ."¹¹

The newspaper clipping and the letters, quoted thereafter, establish three important facts in the genesis of the Adams Memorial:

First, that Adams had refused to see the model after he had "settled" the pose (1886).

Second, that John La Farge took a great share and interest in it.

Third, that Adams was to a great extent responsible for the "conception of the idea."

Though Adams had granted the sculptor freedom from interference, Saint-Gaudens worked under difficult and delicate circumstances, since he had to guard his own independence and artistic integrity although yielding apparently to the desires of others, especially to a mind as strong as that of Henry Adams.

It is regrettable that Augustus Saint-Gaudens himself is so reticent about the whole affair. The *Reminiscences* mention only: "following the 'Chapin' on the scaffolding was the figure in Rock Creek Cemetery which I modeled for Mr. Henry Adams."¹²

Homer Saint-Gaudens felt strongly the need to elaborate on his father's very brief statement concerning the Adams Memorial, and to him we owe the knowledge of some additional facts and letters dealing with it. He states that "at the date Mr. Adams gave Saint-Gaudens the commission he [Adams] felt in sympathy with the religious attitudes of the East."¹³

This was however not an entirely new interest in Adams' life. The idea of Nirvana, so popular with the Boston "Brahmins", had occupied him before he came in direct contact with the art and philosophy of Buddhism in Japan. It found later its most profound expression during Adams' trip to the South Seas and his stay in India in his poem "Buddha and Brahma,"¹⁴ written after his stay in Anuradhapura toward the end of the journey. Some of the ideas expressed there, for instance that of "life behind the veil," must have been familiar to him before he put it on paper in the poem, since it had already contributed largely to the conception of his wife's monument which he transmitted to Saint-Gaudens.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens himself intended to say more about the Adams

Memorial, since his son found written on the margin of the manuscript of the *Reminiscences* at the point where his father dealt with it so briefly, the word: "Amplify."¹¹ But it never came to that.

The son was, however, fortunate enough to come upon a faint ink sketch of the monument in his father's scrapbooks and around it the following notations:

"Adams—Buddha—Mental repose—Calm reflection in contrast with the violence or force in nature."¹²

The combining of the words "Adams" and "Buddha" with one of Adams' favorite concepts, "force", shows clearly that the suggestions came from Adams himself, or were transmitted to him by La Farge. Homer Saint-Gaudens seems to have this in mind when he wrote:

Rather when he [Adams] first discussed the matter, he explained that Mr. La Farge understood his ideas on this subject and that, accordingly, my father would do well, in his work, not to seek in any books for inspiration, but to talk to the painter and to have about him such objects as photographs of Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel.¹³

"There posed sometimes a man, sometimes a woman"¹⁴ for the Adams Memorial, as for Michelangelo's *Sibyls*.

Among the three early very rough clay sketches which Homer Saint-Gaudens reproduces in his book¹⁵, there are two of seated and draped female figures, while the third one is a Socrates. I would like to conclude from that evidence that Saint-Gaudens was, at the beginning, not only undecided as to the sex of his figure but also as to civilizations, religions or philosophical systems. Although in the case of the Adams Memorial a figure of Socrates would have been hardly appropriate, I am inclined to see in the Socrates sketch a suggestion of Saint-Gaudens' rather feeble counterproposal to his friend's Eastern inclinations, which were at first totally alien to him.

It seems also significant, in connection with Saint-Gaudens' Western pre-disposition, that the first pose for the Adams Memorial which came to the sculptor's mind was a "Pensero" (as we learn from the Kobbe report). It is interesting to note that there were incorporated in these rough sketches of female figures some of the improvements which Saint-Gaudens was kept from applying to his early statue *Silence*. We mentioned, in the letter to Ward of 1876, already quoted, "the heavy broad drapery" and "the left hand crossing the drapery." We have further seen that the drapery or veil drawn

over the head, the closed eyes, even the regular classical cast of features; finally the general feeling of mystery, that existed already, though in an immature and conventional way, in the *Silence*, now seemed to have come to the surface of consciousness again.

It is necessary to establish the priority of these formal as well as spiritual conceptions of Saint-Gaudens, since one otherwise would be inclined to give too much credit to Adams' and La Farge's suggestions in the creation of the monument. The sculptor, however, in his great modesty and in his conviction of the superior mentality of his two friends, acknowledges in his letters frankly his dependence on their guidance. The first letter to Adams proving this runs, in excerpts given by Homer Saint-Gaudens, as follows:

Do you remember setting aside some photographs of Chinese statues, Buddha, etc, for me to take away from Washington? I forgot them.¹⁹ I should like to have them now. Is there any book *not long* that you think might assist me in grasping the situation? If so, please let me know so that I might get it. I propose soon to talk with La Farge on the subject, although I dread it a little . . .

If you catch me in, I will show you the result of Michelangelo, Buddha and Saint-Gaudens. I think what I will do, may not be quite as idiotic as if I had not had all these months to "chew the cud". . .

The question now with me is, rock or no rock; which, when I have another sketch indicated, I will show La Farge. White holds that the rock requires a different treatment from the seat, and to prove it has made a stunning scheme. I'm half inclined to give in to him, but that also La Farge must pass on.

If the figure is cast in bronze in several pieces it can be set up in Washington about July first.²⁰ This I consider inadvisable, as the statue can be cast in virtually one piece which is seldom done in these days; for this however, twelve weeks are necessary. Should this be decided on and you be away when the figure is cast, I propose to bronze the plastercast and set it up at once in the place that the bronze will occupy in the monument in Washington, so that you can judge of the effect in metal. In any event, I should like to have you see the face of the figure in the clay.²¹ If it were not for that part the work I would not trouble you. But the face (Fig. 2) is an instrument on which different strains can be played, and I may have struck a key in a direction quite different from your feeling in the matter. With a word from you I could strike another tone with as much interest and fervor as I have had in the present one.

My relations with you in this matter have been so unusually agreeable that you can appreciate how much I am troubled at the prospect of not having the bronze itself in place on July first . . .²¹

The letters of Adams to Dwight and to his brother Charles Francis show that Adams left for the South Seas without having seen the model or the face in the clay.

Henry Adams gives reasons for his refusal to see anything of the work in a letter to the sculptor, the contents of which are summarized by Homer Saint-Gaudens: "That he would not look at it, since if he should not like it, he would carry the disappointment through his trip, whereas otherwise he would have only pleasure to anticipate."²²

Augustus Saint-Gaudens, prodded by Dwight, finally sent photographs of the completed bronze which Henry Adams acknowledged from Siwa, Fiji Islands on June 23, 1891:

... As far as the photographs go, they are satisfactory, but I trust much more the impression produced on John Hay, who writes me that he has been to Rock Creek, to see the figure. "The work is indescribably noble and imposing. It is to my mind Saint-Gauden's masterpiece. It is full of poetry and suggestion, infinite wisdom, a past without beginning and a future without end, a repose after limitless experience, a peace to which nothing matters—all are embodied in this austere and beautiful face and form."

Certainly I could not have expressed my own wishes so exactly, and, if your work approaches Hay's description, you cannot fear criticism from me.²³

The passage quoted by Adams from John Hay's letter is from a message written on March 25, 1891, to his friend then still traveling abroad.²⁴ We can amplify it through another passage from a letter written to Henry Adams by John Hay from London, June 4, 1891: "He [Clarence King] thinks as I do, that it is the most important work yet done on our side—the best of Saint-Gaudens or anybody else."²⁵

The first letter written by Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Henry Adams after his return from his long trip to the South Seas, which was followed by a stay in England and France, deals chiefly with the "setting" for it:

I meant that my first communication to you should be a word asking you to come and see the figure. However I have to give that up. You asked that, in whatever was placed back of the figure, the architecture should

have nothing to say, and above all that it should not be classic. White and I mulled over this a great deal, with the enclosed results. I do not object to the architecture or its classicism as indicated in Number One, whereas Number Two would, we both fear, be rather unpleasant. This matter must be settled immediately, and I cannot do that without asking you. I do not think the small classical cornice and base can affect the figure and, to my thinking, the monument would be better as a whole.

If however the plain stone at the back of Number One, marked "front" is much preferable to you, we will carry it out.

In about ten days you will hear from me, *asking you to run on*. [italics mine] I've demolished the figure several times, and now it's all going at once.²⁷

The last sentence refers evidently to previous changes in the figure, and is obviously an attempt to apologize for the delay in the execution of the work. The date of this letter is not given by Homer Saint-Gaudens in his book. The opening sentence and especially the older Saint-Gaudens' request to Adams "to run on" to see the completed bronze cast, makes it clear that the letter was written after Adams' return to the United States. This took place about the middle of February 1892, as we know from a letter to Charles Milnes Gaskell.²⁸

The work on the architectural setting and landscaping must definitely have stretched on into the spring of 1892, as the last letter written by Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Adams in the matter of the monument indicates. We shall quote it later on.

Returning to Stanford White's design for the stone behind the figure, Adams agreed to the small concession of the classical ornament. It is, as the executed stone shows, an egg and dart pattern at the cornice and a ribboned laurel wreath at the base. Though they affect one from a distance as purely textural accents, the monument would probably still have gained in simplicity without these conventionalities. Adams fortunately succeeded in the omission of all inscription on the stone. In his last will he states specifically that "no inscription, dates, letters or other attempt at memorial" should ever be placed over his wife's and his joined graves.²⁹

The last letter written by Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Henry Adams deals, as we have mentioned, with the landscaping and the last finishing touches on the stone:

The monument is finished and all that remains to be done is the grading and the planting of some trees in the rear of the seat. White's work appears to me to be very fine, sober and strong. As to my work, you must judge for yourself. The rock on which the figure is seated, needs to be rubbed in order to get it darker. This will be done at once. I did not do it before setting up the work as I was uncertain as to the effect of the stone. That, however, is a small matter.¹⁰

The first approval of the work was given around the beginning of March, or even the end of February 1892, very shortly after Adams had returned to Washington. We learn this from the last letter which Adams wrote to Dwight on this matter on March 10, 1892:

Hooper, Bigelow and I made a formal, and, so to speak, official examination of the Rock Creek work, and gave it final approval. Probably some day I may try to carry further the artist's wishes about planting, but just now we can wait. Many thanks for your devotion. Don't be too vindictive towards the clergyman. For my part, his attitude seems a form of appreciation.¹¹

The last two sentences allude, as explained by Ward Thoron in a footnote to his book *The Letters of Mrs. Adams*,¹² to the attitude of Dr. Buck, "the very aged rector of the parish which controlled the cemetery" who was "far from sympathetic or admiring, or accommodating, and in consequence complained." We shall meet Dr. Buck as the voice of the "clergy" in the passage in the *Education* dealing with the Memorial.

When spring came, Adams spent many hours with the monument, often riding to Rock Creek Cemetery on horseback.¹³ He wrote about these visits in the *Education*:

His first step, on returning to Washington, took him out to the cemetery known as Rock Creek, to see the bronze figure which St. Gaudens had made for him in his absence. Naturally every detail interested him; every line; every touch of the artist; every change of light and shade; every point of relation; every possible doubt of St. Gaudens' correctness of taste or feeling; so that, as the spring approached, he was apt to stop there often to see what the figure had to tell him that was new; but, in all, that it had to say, he never once thought of questioning what it meant. He supposed its meaning to be the one commonplace about it—the oldest idea known to human thought. He knew that if he asked an Asiatic its meaning, not a man, woman or child from Cairo to Kamtchatka would have needed more than a glance to reply. From the Egyptian Sphinx to the Kamakura Daibuts; from

Prometheus to Christ, from Michael Angelo to Shelley, art had wrought on this eternal figure almost as though it had nothing else to say. The interest of the figure was not in its meaning, but in the response of the observer. As Adams sat there, numbers of people came, for the figure seemed to have become a tourist fashion, and all wanted to know its meaning. Most took it for a portrait statue, and the remnant were vacant-minded in the absence of a personal guide. None felt what would have been a nursery instinct to a Hindu baby or a Japanese jinricksha-runner. The only exceptions were the clergy, who taught a lesson even deeper. One after another brought companions there, and, apparently fascinated by their own reflection, broke out passionately against the expression they felt in the figure of despair, of atheism, of denial. Like the others, the priest saw only what he brought. Like all great artists, St. Gaudens held up the mirror and no more. The American layman had lost sight of ideals; the American priest had lost sight of faith. Both were more American than the old, half-witted soldiers who denounced the wasting, on a mere grave, of money which should have been given for drink.¹⁴

How the stupid remarks of the public must have hurt Adams in a matter so personal! How bitter is his verdict on the final failure of Idealism and idealistic art in America, and on the relation of art, artists and society! And he meant the whole of society, from the top, Washington "society" and the President Theodore Roosevelt to the "half-witted soldiers." He writes to Elizabeth Cameron from Washington on April 19, 1903:

At dinner the other evening we were chaffing St. Gaudens because of his Rock Creek figure, which he has to tell the meaning of. As he never could use words at all, and least in explaining thoughts, he stumbles over it wearily. His wife, as usual, gets impatient, for she says it is now their favorite joke that whenever they go out to dinner here some one always drags St. Gaudens into a corner and says: "Do tell me what you meant in that figure?" As La Farge, in his introspective way remarked, he might answer that the figure was meant to express whatever was in the mind of the spectator; but this would be too fine. To a wearily historical mind like mine, it is curious that what would have been elementary to every other age of mankind, and which any beggar of Benares or Tokio would read at a glance, is a sealed mystery to the American mind. I sit there, and listen to the comments of the stream of visitors, I am astounded at the actually torpid perceptions of the average American; and the worst of all is the clerical preacher. He can see nothing but Despair. He shows what his own mind is full of; but the idea of Thought has been fully effaced.¹⁵

One finds in this letter the material which gained its final formation in the passage of the *Education*, written two years later and quoted above.

Adams lectures even President Theodore Roosevelt in the matter of the figure:

But!!! . . . should you allude to my bronze figure, will you try to do St. Gaudens the justice to remark that his expression was a little higher than sex can give. As he meant it, he wanted to exclude sex and sink it in the idea of humanity. The figure is sexless.⁶⁶

Adams only once took the trouble to give to the nameless figure a name, in a letter to Saint-Gaudens' friend R. W. Gilder, dated October 14, 1895.

I have written to Saint-Gaudens to use any drawings or photographs he likes, provided that no names of mine, or allusion to me or mine is attached. The whole meaning and feeling of the figure is in its universality and anonymity. My own name for it is "The Peace of God." La Farge would call it "Kwannon." Petrarch would say: "Siccome eterna vita è veder Dio," and a real artist would be very careful to give it no name that the public could turn into a limitation of its nature. With the understanding that there should be no such attempt at making it intelligible to the average mind, and no hint at ownership or personal relation, I hand it over to St. Gaudens.⁶⁷

The passage from one of Petrarch's Sonnets, which runs in English translation: "to succomb to eternal life and see God," had occurred before in Adams' novel *Esther* and there, interestingly enough in conjunction with the term "Nirvana," which became also quite popular as a title for the Adams Memorial. Since the lines in *Esther* were written before 1884, it is as though Adams, with the poet's prophetic vision, had seen ahead to the events of his wife's tragic death and the atonement for it by the erection of a monument to Love and Death.

The situation in the novel is as follows. Esther has tried to paint the features of St. Cecilia for the St. John's murals using Catherine Brooke, a society girl, as a model; Wharton, the painter, was not satisfied with the quiet "earthly" expression of the head and had made a sketch of his own for it. "He had narrowed the face, deepened its lines, made the eyes much stronger and darker. . . in order to give an expression of passion subsided and heaven attained." "You have reached Nirvana," said Esther . . . "What is Nirvana" asked Catherine . . . [and Wharton answers] "Nirvana is what I mean by



Fig. 1. AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS, *The Adams Memorial*
Washington D.C., Rock Creek Cemetery



Fig. 3. Side view of Figure 1



Fig. 2. Detail of Figure 1

Paradise . . . It is eternal life, which, my poet says, consists in seeing God."¹¹

Mabel Hooper La Farge, using Adams' own words, speaks in her introduction to the *Letters to a Niece*¹² similarly about "the peace of Nirvana"—"infinite and eternal peace—the peace of limitless consciousness unified with limitless will," and later continues:

The "life behind a veil" reveals itself in the monument in Rock Creek Cemetery . . . Translated into Western thought, Henry Adams called it "The Peace of God." Sometimes he would call it "Kwannon," the compassionate Virgin of the East, merciful guardian of the human race. After the glory of the "Virgin of Chartres" had been revealed to him, however, the Divine Mother of the West blended in his mind in the monument with the Virgin of the East.¹³

The reluctance of Henry Adams to give a name to the figure is most strongly expressed in a letter to Homer Saint-Gaudens which he wrote as an answer upon the latter's request to send him his father's letters for publication in the *Reminiscences*:

I will send you all I can find of your father's letters . . . I have only one favor to ask of you in return. Do not allow the world to tag my figure with a name! Every magazine writer wants to label it as some American patent medicine for popular consumption, Grief, Despair, Pear's Soap, or Macy's Men's Suites Made to Measure. Your father meant it to ask a question, not to give an answer; and the man who answers will be damned to eternity like the man who answered the Sphinx. Undoubtedly a beneficent Diety, whether he exists or not, will some day commit our entire American—and European—society to eternal Hellfire for *not* trying to answer your father's question; but this is no reason why we should undertake to act the part of Savior—much the contrary.¹⁴

I believe that one of the reasons for Adams' almost pathological sensitiveness and secretiveness in the matter of the monument was his fear to disclose to unconcerned strangers not only his philosophy of life and death but also his attitude towards the catastrophe of his wife's suicide. He hints at that in the half-mocking manner so characteristic of him in a letter to Anna Cabot Mills Lodge:

I was lucky enough to get Saint-Gaudens to make a figure for me to express my notion that the most dignified thing for a human worm to do, was to sit up and sit still. In my own judgement this is the last word of the song.¹⁵

The cult of Marian Adams, Kwannon, the Virgin and of Death blend in the statue. When Adams himself was lying on his deathbed "two blessed candles" were burning under Mabel Hooper La Farge's sketch of the Saint-Gaudens monument, which hung in his bedroom.¹¹

The roads have come together from East and West, Past and Future, Love and Death, from Personal and Universal Grief, Personal and Universal Hope, to unite in the Adams Memorial. The figure is a challenge to meditation, which several times found expression in poetry. There exists a Cycle of Sonnets by Cecil Spring Rice, the English diplomat friend of Adams and Theodore Roosevelt, which appeared under the title "The St. Gaudens Monument at Rock Creek Cemetery," based on a Persian story,¹² and Homer Saint-Gaudens reprints a poem about the monument with the title "Nirvana" by Hildegarde Hawthorne along the theme of "Jenseits von Gut und Boese" (Nietzsche).¹³

I conclude the history of the Adams Memorial—its conception, creation and its effects upon Adams and his contemporaries—with a conversation which took place in front of it between Augustus Saint-Gaudens, John Hay and Mrs. Barrett Wendell, wife of the writer and Harvard English teacher. It is recorded in a letter sent by her to Homer Saint-Gaudens:

... I was in the Rock Creek Cemetery looking at the wonderful monument by Mr. Saint-Gaudens in memory of Mrs. Henry Adams when Mr. Saint-Gaudens and Mr. John Hay entered the little enclosure. I was deeply impressed and asked Mr. Saint-Gaudens what he called the figure. He hesitated and then said: "I call it the Mystery of the Hereafter." Then I said "It is not happiness?" "No," he said, "it is beyond pain and joy." Mr. Hay turned to me and said "Thank you for asking. I have always wished to know."¹⁴

While in this conversation there reverberates still the rationalism and the optimism of the "pursuit of happiness," rampant in the nineteenth century and shared even by some of Adams' friends, the statue has come very much into its own in our more sceptical age as the most important and most profound American sculpture created towards the turn of the century. What was once not "understood" and puzzling has become clear in the light of later development. The Adams Memorial is the first nearly modern work in American sculpture. It has a parallel only in Rodin's more abstract works.

When we compare it to Rodin's somewhat later *Thinker*, to which it is re-

lated in theme (brooding meditation) and closed compact form, the difference is between "force" (Rodin) and "taste" (Saint-Gaudens).

But there are certain qualities in the Adams Memorial which truly anticipate modern trends. It is designed not for rational understanding but for feeling and emotion. It is symbol, not allegory, it is plurasign, not monosign and has therefore not one meaning but many. That is to say, it has no specific meaning at all. It is "poetry and suggestion," as John Hay put it, not prose and explanation. Indeed many strains could be played on it. Yet, we think, it is not quite as "sexless" as Adams wanted it to be. There is a certain sensuous appeal, that of the woman, even "behind the veil" of form, lofty thoughts and abstraction.

Its abstract and truly modern qualities are in its stress on geometrical design and texture. We observe a closed triangular form against the square of the monolith and the strong diagonal fold, running from left shoulder to right foot between the knees, which bisects it. It is interesting that Saint-Gaudens expressed the wish to change that, since he felt at a later visit (in 1903) that "the fold between the knees . . . makes too strong a line" (Fig. 3).⁴⁷

Purely abstract design considerations familiar to us today came second with him, not first! We have already criticized the unnecessary conventionalities of classical decorative carving at cornice and base, which Saint-Gaudens still thought of as improving the whole. But otherwise the bareness of the rather high, smooth monolith of light red granite against the darker tone of the now greenish bronze figure and, on the other hand, the harmony of the rough surface of the bronze with the crude natural piece of still darker rock forming the seat of the figure, is a textural and coloristic effect unique in American sculpture of that time and again paralleled only in the art of Rodin.

Saint-Gaudens had worked out the color scheme with Stanford White and had the rock rubbed in order to get it darker, after he had observed the effect of the whole *in situ*. Such careful consideration of color in sculpture and such color contrasts as the, by now, malachite green-bronze of the figure, standing out against the slightly mottled red of the stone, is likewise exceptional for the time, especially in a grave monument. While H. H. Richardson built the first "color church" in the United States and La Farge was led to stained glass in his search for brilliant color, so Saint-Gaudens created in the Adams Memorial the first colorful monument in the history of American sculpture. In the class of tomb monuments in the nineteenth century, it is the great exception, an oasis of true feeling and true form, not only in America.

¹ The *Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, edited and amplified by Homer Saint-Gaudens, 2 vols., New York, 1913 (hereafter quoted as *Reminiscences*). Silence is reproduced in I, 116.

² *Reminiscences*, I, 140-141.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-143.

⁴ About Henry Adams' active interest in Trinity Church, Boston, see Ernst Scheyer "Henry Adams and Henry Hobson Richardson," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XII, 8-10. Augustus Saint-Gaudens participated in the decoration of the church but merely as a painter.

⁵ *Letters of Henry Adams (1858-1918)*, edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 2 vols., Boston and New York (hereafter quoted as *Letters*). The letter to John Hay is dated June 11, 1888, *Letters*, I, 365.

⁶ James Truslow Adams, *Henry Adams*, New York, 1933, p. 165.

⁷ *Henry Adams and His Friends, a Collection of his Unpublished Letters*, with a biographical introduction by Harold Dean Cater, Boston, 1947 (hereafter quoted as *Cater*), p. cxviii, footnote 212.

⁸ The *Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, 1865-1883*, edited by Ward Thoron, Boston, 1936, p. 455 (hereafter quoted as *Letters Mrs. Adams*).

⁹ *Letters Mrs. Adams*, 455, 456.

¹⁰ Cater, p. 247.

¹¹ *Letters*, I, 509.

¹² *Reminiscences*, I, 354.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

¹⁴ Published in *Yale Review*, V (Oct. 1915), 82-89.

¹⁵ *Reminiscences*, I, 356.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 356, 357.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 358

¹⁹ Augustus Saint-Gaudens visited Henry Adams in Washington to discuss the monument with him and possibly to draw up a contract.

²⁰ That is July 1, 1890.

²¹ A separate head of the figure exists in Cornish, N. H. See no. 52 of the *Catalogue of a Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, Carnegie Institute, 1909. A cast of the whole figure made with the permission of Henry Adams is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (*Carnegie Catalogue*, no. 53, p. 56).

²² *Reminiscences*, I, pp. 359-361. The dates of the letters are not given, the earliest must have been written late in 1889 or early in 1890.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

²⁴ *Ibid.* This letter has not been included in the *Letters* edited by Ford.

²⁵ *Letters of John Hay and Extracts from Diary*, 3 vols., Washington, privately printed (hereafter quoted as *Letters John Hay*), p. 216.

²⁶ *Letters John Hay*, p. 222.

²⁷ *Reminiscences*, I, 360, 361.

²⁸ *Letters*, II, 6, dated Washington, February 26, 1892.

²⁹ James Truslow Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

³⁰ *Reminiscences*, I, 361.

³¹ *Letters Mrs. Adams*, p. 457.

³² *Letters Mrs. Adams*, p. 457, note 1.

³³ *Letters*, II, 6, dated Washington, Sunday June, 5, 1892, to Elizabeth Cameron.

³⁴ *The Education of Henry Adams, an Autobiography*, Boston and New York, 1924, p. 329.

³⁵ *Letters*, II, 406, 407.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 513, dated Washington, December 16, 1908.

³⁷ *Reminiscences*, I, 363, 364. Not included in the *Letters* edited by Ford.

³⁸ *Esther*. A novel by Henry Adams (Francis Snow Compton) with an introduction by Robert E. Spiller, New York, 1938, p. 79.

³⁹ Henry Adams, *Letters to a Niece and a Prayer to the Virgin of Chartres*. With *A Niece's Memories* by Mabel La Farge, Boston and New York, 1920, p. 9.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴¹ Cater, pp. 609, 610, dated Washington, January 24, 1908.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 712-713, dated Washington, May 24, 1911.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 779. Letter by Aileen Tone, Henry Adams' secretary during the last five years of his life, to Mable Hooper La Farge, dated 1603 H Street, Washington, Good Friday, March 29, 1918.

⁴⁴ Written in 1893, they were published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, CXX, 607, and in Gwynn, II, 397.

⁴⁵ *Reminiscences*, I, 362, 363.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

⁴⁷ *Reminiscences*, I, p. 362.

ACCESSIONS OF AMERICAN AND CANADIAN MUSEUMS

OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1955

ANCIENT ART

*Indicates object is illustrated

CYPRIAN

Necklace, III-I century B.C. Gold and glass beads.
Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College.

GREEK

**Bowl*, 700-680 B.C., proto-Attic style. Terracotta, H. 2 1/4"; Diam. with handles, 7 1/4". Worcester Art Museum.
Head of a Lady with Melon Coiffure, Attic, IV century. Parian marble, H. 13". The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.
Head of a Young Goddess, 440-425 B.C. Parian marble, H. 10". Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.
**Kylix*, Epeleion Painter (?), ca. 520-510 B.C. H. 5"; Diam. 13 1/4"; W. with handles, 16 1/4". Smith College Museum of Art.
**Mortuary Monument, Lekythos*, V century B.C. Stone, H. 42". Seattle Art Museum.

ROMAN

Head (Scipio Africanus). Ca. 200 B.C. Parian marble, life-size. Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont.

PRIMITIVE ARTS

AFRICAN

Cock, Benin. Bronze, 20 1/2" x 7" x 18 1/4". The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.
Mask, Guere Tribe, Ivory Coast. Wood and brass, H. 11 1/2". Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College.

AMERICAN

Group of approximately 500 pieces of Northwest Coast Indian and Eskimo art and artifacts from the Rasmussen collection. The Birmingham Museum of Art.

OCEANIC

Carved Mask (human face), Torres Straits area of New Guinea, end of 19th-beginning of 20th century. Wood, H. 28". University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.

Group of wood, bark and ivory objects from the Wurtzburger collection, from New Ireland, New Guinea and New Zealand. The Baltimore Museum of Art.

MEDIEVAL ART

PAINTING

FLEMISH

Portrait of a Man, Joos van Cleve. Oil on panel, H. 8 1/4"; W. 6 1/2". Smith College Museum of Art.
Madonna and Child with Two Angels (triptych), Adriaen Isenbrandt. H. 13 1/2"; W. 20 1/4". M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.
**Portrait of a Man*, Hans Memling. Oil on panel, H. 13 1/2"; W. 9". The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

PERSIAN

Iskander Defeats the Army of Fur of Hind. Early XIV century, from a Shah-nama by Firdausi. Miniature, H. 16"; W. 11 1/4". Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

ENGRAVING

GERMAN

**The Man of Sorrows*. XV century. Dotted print colored by hand, 329 mm. x 251 mm. *Thistle Ornament with Wild Men*. Master E. S. 95 mm. x 312 mm. The Art Institute of Chicago.

SCULPTURE

FLEMISH

**The Circumcision of Christ*. Ca. 1480-90. Wood, 18 1/2" x 12 1/4" x 5". Smith College Museum of Art.

FRENCH

Madonna and Child. XIV century. Polychrome limestone, H. 0.98 m. The Art Museum, Princeton University.

SPANISH

**Holy Water Font Showing Figure of Man*. Spanish (Azabach), early XIV century. Coal, H. 3 1/4"; 6 1/2" sq. The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

DECORATIVE ARTS

PERUVIAN

Double Gourd-Shaped Jar. Nasca. Pottery. H. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; Diam. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". *Two-Spouted Jar.* Nasca. Pottery. H. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; Diam. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". *Two-Spouted Jar with Handle.* Pottery. H. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; Diam. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". *Two Spouted Water Jar with Handle.* Tiahuanaco. Pottery. H. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; Diam. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Portland Art Museum.

Group of American Indian antiquities from Peru and Mexico, pre-Inca to late Chimu. The Detroit Institute of Arts.

RENAISSANCE TO MODERN TIMES PAINTING

(Unless otherwise stated, all paintings listed are oil on canvas)

AMERICAN

Cole, Thomas, *The Voyage of Life: Childhood; Youth; Manhood; Old Age.* 1839-40. H. 52"; W. 78" ea. Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica.

*Doughty, Thomas, *Baltimore from the Seat of R. Gilmer, Esq.* 1822. Oil on panel. H. 13"; W. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

Field, Erastus S., *Portrait of a Man; Portrait of a Lady.* H. 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". H. 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Fuller, George, *Self-Portrait.* H. 22"; W. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

*Hassellius, John, *Portrait of Mrs. Richard Sprigg.* Ca. 1765-70. H. 30"; W. 25". The Newark Museum.

Homer, Winslow, *Beaver Mountain, Adirondacks, Minnesota, New York.* Ca. 1876. H. 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; W. 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The Newark Museum.

Innes, George, *View from the Swampunk Mountains.* 1885. Oil on canvas mounted on panel. H. 24"; W. 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

Peale, James, *Still-Life, Fruit.* H. 16"; W. 22". The Newark Museum.

Wollaston, John (attributed to), *Portrait of George Braxton; Portrait of Mrs. Braxton (Mary Blair).* Ca. 1755-60. H. 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Colonial Williamsburg.

DUTCH

Berkheyde, Gerrit, *View of the Singel at Amsterdam.* H. 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 24 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.

*Both, Jan, *Scene of the Roman Campagna.* H. 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; W. 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis.

Cuyp, Aelbert, *Milking Time.* Oil on panel. H. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The Brooklyn Museum.

*Netscher, Caspar, *Portrait of a Man.* Oil on panel. H. 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; W. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Worcester Art Museum.

Ruysch, Rachel, *A Bouquet.* Early 18th century. J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville.

*Steen, Jan, *The Twelfth Night.* H. 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Los Angeles County Museum

ENGLISH

Jackson, John, *Portrait of William Pitt the Younger.* H. 30"; W. 25". William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

Riley, John, *Portrait of Samuel Pepys.* H. 29"; W. 25". Yale University Art Gallery.

*Romney, George, *Portrait of Richard Wilbraham Beale.* H. 50"; W. 40". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Turner, Joseph M. W., *Lake Geneva.* H. 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 64". Los Angeles County Museum.

FLEMISH

Stomer, Matthias von, *St. Jerome.* H. 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Farnsworth Museum, Wellesley College.

FRENCH

*Cézanne, Paul, *Boy in a Red Waistcoat.* 1890-95. H. 32"; W. 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Courbet, Gustave, *Forest Pool.* H. 61 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; W. 44 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

*Drouais, François-Hubert (attributed to), *Marquis d'Osmon.* H. 2.180 m.; W. 1.641 m. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

*Greuze, Jean-Baptiste, *Le Retour du Cabaret.* H. 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 36 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Portland Art Museum.

*Le Poer, Charles de, *Diana Preparing for the Chase.* H. 51 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 54 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Art Gallery of Toronto.

*Largillière, Nicolas de (attributed to), *Louis XIV.* H. 46"; W. 35 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans.

Le Clerc, Jean (attributed to), *Memento Mori.* H. 47 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 68 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans.

IRISH

Hone, Nathaniel, *Portrait of a Woman.* H. 30"; W. 25". William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

ITALIAN

Lippi, Girolamo da, *The Nativity.* Miniature. H. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 4 $\frac{13}{16}$ ". The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Mura, Francesco de, *Neil Mt Tanger; Supper at Emmaus.* Oil on copper. H. 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; W. 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Farnsworth Museum, Wellesley College.

Rosa, Salvator, *Landscape.* H. 40"; W. 53". J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville.

Titian, *Magdalene in Penitence*. H. 43"; W. 38". The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.

SPANISH

*El Greco, *St. Andrew*. H. 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

DRAWING

FRENCH

Degas, Edgar, *Self-Portrait*. Pencil on white paper, H. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; W. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (right). Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

*Greuze, Jean-Baptiste, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*. Pen and wash, H. 372 mm.; W. 505 mm (sheet). The Art Institute of Chicago.

Watteau, Jean-Antoine, *Printemps*. Red chalk, H. 156 mm.; W. 215 mm. (sheet). The Art Institute of Chicago.

ITALIAN

Carracci, Agostino or Antonio, *Landscape*. Pen and bistre, H. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 9". Smith College Museum of Art.

Piazzetta, Giovanni Battista, *Nude Study*. Charcoal heightened with white chalk on gray paper, H. 20"; W. 15" (right). The Detroit Institute of Arts.

ENGRAVING

ITALIAN

Barbari, Jacopo de, *Bird's-Eye View of Venice*. 1500. Woodcut of six blocks, H. 52 $\frac{11}{16}$ "; W. 111 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

SCULPTURE

AMERICAN

Powers, Hiram, *Diana*. Marble, H. 26"; W. 25"; D. 13". The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

FRENCH

Anonymous, *Death Triumphant*. 2nd half 16th century. Carved fruitwood figure, H. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

*Houdon, J. A., *Bust of a Young Man*. Terracotta, H. 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.

*Rodin, Auguste, *La Faunesse*. 1887. Bronze, H. 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica.

ITALIAN

Anonymous, *Hercules Carrying an Astrolabe*. Ca. 1550. Bronze and gilt-bronze, H. 25". The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Bologna, Giovanna da and Susini, Antonio, *The Wrestlers*. Bronze, H. 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; Base, 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". City Art Museum, St. Louis.

Bologna, Giovanni da (attributed to) after drawings by Leonardo, *Rearing Horse*. Bronze, H. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; L. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Seattle Art Museum.

Cataneo, Danese, *Episcopal Portrait*. Terracotta, H. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.

Giorgio, Francesco de (attributed to), *Ascension of the Virgin*. Bronze relief, H. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; W. 13". The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Robbia, Luca della, *Madonna and Child*. Polychrome terracotta relief plaque, H. 0.38 m. The Art Museum, Princeton University.

*Sansovino (Jacopo Tatti), *Neptune*. Bronze, H. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

DECORATIVE ARTS

CERAMICS

Albarelo, with inscription "Dia sene magistre." Italian, 1627. Majolica, H. 9". *Albarelo* with inscription "Vale armoniae O." Italian, 16th century. Majolica, H. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont.

Bird Figures (set of ten). Chelsea, ca. 1750-55. Soft-paste porcelain, polychrome on white ground, H. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " to 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Colonial Williamsburg.

Pair of Plates. Delft, ca. 1700. Diam 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

Posset Pot and Cover. Lambeth Delft, ca. 1650. H. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

**The Fortune Teller Group*. English, Bow factory, ca. 1750. All white porcelain, H. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Seattle Art Museum.

FURNITURE

Group of 18th and 19th century furniture, sculpture and wood carving. French Canada. The Detroit Institute of Arts.

Chest. Dutch, ca. 1700. Tortoise shell with lacquered interior, roccoco brass handles with mask decorations, H. 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; L. 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; W. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

Chest of Drawers. American, ca. 1770. Mahogany, H. 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 38"; D. 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Brooklyn Museum.

Four Side Chairs; two easy chairs; sofa; two corner consoles and mirror console. French, ca. 1865. Walnut, carving in style of Louis XV. M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.

GLASS

**Girandoles* (pair). English, ca. 1740. Glass, gilt deal, brass, H. 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; W. 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Colonial Williamsburg.



TOP: 1. *Bowl*, Greek, 700-680 B.C. Worcester Art Museum. 2. *Mortuary Monument*, *Lekythos*, V Century, B.C. Seattle Art Museum. 3. *Kylix*, Greek, ca. 520-510 B.C. Smith College Museum of Art.

CENTER: 1. *SANSOVINO, Neptune*. The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. 2. *The Man of Sorrows*, German, XV Century. The Art Institute of Chicago. 3. *Inkstand, Hercules with Globe and Cross*, Italian, Andrea Riccio, The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

BOTTOM: 1. *HANS MEMLING, Portrait of a Man*, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. 2. *Holy Water Font*, Spanish, early XIV Century. The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. 3. *The Circumcision of Christ*, Flemish, ca. 1480-90. Smith College Museum of Art.



TOP: 1. JOHN WOLLASTON (attributed to), *Portrait of Mrs. George Braxton*. Colonial Williamsburg. 2. CASPAR NETSCHER, *Portrait of a Man*. Worcester Art Museum. 3. JOHN HESSELIUS, *Portrait of Mrs. Richard Sprigg*. The Newark Museum.

CENTER: 1. NICOLAS DE LARGILLIÈRE (attributed to), *Louis XIV*. Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans. 2. JAN STEEN, *The Twelfth Night*. Los Angeles County Museum. 3. EL GRECO, *St. Andrew*. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington D. C.

BOTTOM: 1. *The Fortune Teller Group*. English, ca. 1750. Seattle Art Museum. 2. *Pair of Goblets*. American, 1793. The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning. 3. *Girandole*. English, ca. 1740. Colonial Williamsburg.



TOP: 1. GEORGE ROMNEY, *Portrait of Richard Willbraham Bootle*. The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. 2. J. A. HOUDON, *Bust of a Young Man*. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence. 3. FRANÇOIS-HUBERT DROUAIIS (attributed to), *Marquis d'Ossun*. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

CENTER: 1. CHARLES DE LA FOSSE, *Diana Preparing for the Chase*. The Art Gallery of Toronto. 2. JAN BOTH, *Scene of the Roman Campagna*. John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis.

BOTTOM: 1. JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE, *Le Retour du Cabaret*. Portland Art Museum. 2. JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*. The Art Institute of Chicago.



TOP: 1. THOMAS DOUGHTY, *Baltimore from the Seat of R. Gilmor, Esq.* The Baltimore Museum of Art. 2. THOMAS COLE, *The Voyage of Life: Childhood*. Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica.

CENTER: 1. ERNST LUDWIG KIRCHNER, *Erich Heckel and His Wife*. Smith College Museum of Art. 2. AUGUSTE RODIN, *La Faunesse*. Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica. 3. PAUL CÉZANNE, *Boy in Red Waistcoat*. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

BOTTOM: 1. EMIL NOLDE, *Christ Among the Children*. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 2. MAX BECKMANN, *Triptych: Actors*. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

**Goblets* (pair), given to George Tinier. American, John Frederick Amelung manufactory, 1793. H. approx. 8 1/2". *Covered Goblet*. Holland, Jacob Sang, 1769. H. with cover, 13 1/8". The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning.

METAL WORK

Chandelier. Dutch, 17th century. Bell metal, baluster shaft with 16 branches, H. 75"; W. (max) 68". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

**Inkstand, Hercules with Globe and Cross*. Italian, Andrea Riccio. Bronze, H. 9 3/4". *Mug*. American, William Jones, Silver, H. 4". *Silver with Chippendale edge*, on three hoof feet. American, Thomas Edwards. Silver, Diam. 15 1/2". *Statuette of a King*, from a chase. French, 14th century. Silver, H. 2 1/4". *Teapot*, pearshaped. American, Jacob Gerittes Lansing. Silver with ebony handle. The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Trey. American, Joseph Richardson, ca. 1750-60. Silver, piecrust edge, shell motif, three cabriole legs, Diam. 6 1/8". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

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Bedspread, curtains and valances (2 pr.). English, late 17th century. Crewel work on natural cotton and linen twill ground. Colonial Williamsburg.

The Circumcision of Christ. Flemish, 15th or 16th century. Tapestry fragment, H. 80 1/4"; W. 52 1/4". Portland Art Museum.

Landscape with Hunters. Brussels, ca. 1600. Tapestry, H. 6'10"; W. 7'5". Montclair Art Museum.

CONTEMPORARY ART

PAINTING

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Albright, Ivan Le Lorraine, *Maker of Dreams*. 1928. H. 30"; W. 20". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. Avery, Milton, *Clear Cut Landscape*. 1951. H. 32"; W. 44". *Three Figures and a Dog*. 1943. H. 32"; W. 44". The San Francisco Museum of Art. Baziotes, William, *Black Night*. H. 36"; W. 48". The Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

Idem, Figure and Foliage. 1954. Pastel, H. 19 1/2"; W. 25 1/4". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. Bloom, Hyman, *Archaeological Treasure*. 1945. H. 43"; W. 36". The Art Institute of Chicago.

Burchfield, Charles E., *April Woods*. 1942. Watercolor, H. 32"; W. 25". The Art Gallery of Toronto. Davis, Stuart, *Deus*. 1954. H. 26"; W. 42". The San Francisco Museum of Art.

Hurd, Peter, *The New Mill*. Oil on gesso, H. 21 1/2"; W. 17 1/2". The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

Kooning, William de, *Woman VI*. H. 68 1/2"; W. 58 1/2". The Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

Le Brun, Rico, *Buchenwald Carr.* H. 84"; W. 114". The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

Levine, Jack, *Medicine Show*. H. 50 1/2"; W. 55". The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

Luka, George, *Mike the Bite*. H. 20"; W. 16". Portland Art Museum.

Maurer, Alfred H., *Two Flappers*. 1920-22. Tempera on gesso panel, H. 21 1/4"; W. 18". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Morris, Carl, *Written in Stone*. H. 48"; W. 40 1/4". Portland Art Museum.

Motherwell, Robert, *The Voyage*. 1949. Oil and tempera on paper over masonite, H. 48"; W. 94". The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

O'Keeffe, Georgia, *Red and Pink Rocks and Teeth*. 1938. H. 21"; W. 13". The Art Institute of Chicago.

Spencer, Niles, *Apartment Tower*. H. 32"; W. 24". Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. Tobey, Mark, *Broadway Afternoon*. 1950. Watercolor, H. 18 1/4"; W. 24 1/2" (sheet). The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Idem, Pacific Rhythms. Tempera, H. 26"; W. 20 1/4". Santa Barbara Museum of Art.

Weber, Max, *Dakota*. H. 32"; W. 24". Des Moines Art Center.

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Picabia, Francis, *Machine Sans Nom*. Gouache on cardboard, H. 47 1/2"; W. 26". The Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

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Bacon, Francis, *Study for Nude*. 1952. H. 78"; W. 54". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

Nicholson, Ben, *Still-Life*. 1949. H. 22"; W. 27". The San Francisco Museum of Art.

Sickert, Walter Richard, *Sir Thomas Brechin Conducting*. ca. 1935. H. 36 1/4"; W. 14". The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

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Bonnard, Pierre, *Dining Room in the Country*. 1913. H. 63"; W. 80". The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Gleizes, Albert, *Le Port*. 1912. H. 35 1/2"; W. 45 1/2". The Art Gallery of Toronto.

Manessier, Alfred, *Crown of Thorns*. H. 45 1/2"; W. 64". The Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

Matissé, Henri, *Coldfish and Sculpture*. 1911. H. 45 1/2"; W. 39 1/2". The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

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*Beckmann, Max, *Triptych: Actors*. Center: H. 78 1/2"; W. 59". Wings: H. 78 1/2"; W. 33". Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

Idem, Descent from the Cross. 1917. H. 59 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 50 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

*Kirchner, Ernst Ludwig, *Erich Heckel and His Wife*. 1909. H. 67 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; W. 37 $\frac{1}{16}$ ". Smith College Museum of Art

*Nolde, Emil, *Christ Among the Children*. 1910. H. 34 $\frac{1}{3}$ "; W. 41 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

ITALIAN

Afro, *Underwater Hunter*. H. 58 $\frac{5}{8}$ "; W. 70". The Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

Carrà, Carlo, *The Swimmers*. H. 41 $\frac{1}{3}$ "; W. 62". The Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

Severini, Gino, *Dancer*. 1913. Watercolor, H. 15"; W. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The Birmingham Museum of Art.

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Picasso, Pablo, *Le Journal*. Oil and collage. The San Francisco Museum of Art.

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Arp, Jean, *Sculpture from Cypress*. Marble, H. 17". The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Despiau, Charles, *Titre de M. Armand*. Bronze, H. 12". The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Lipchitz, Jacques, *Seated Figure*. Limestone, H. 30". The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

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Marcks, Gerhard, *The Lifeguard*. Bronze, H. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

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QUELQUES SOURCES DE LA TENTATION DE SAINT ANTOINE DE GRÜNEWALD

par Charles C. Cuttler

Dans cet article M. Cuttler étudie principalement les sources de l'autel d'Isenheim, auxquelles les critiques jusqu'à présent ont porté peu d'intérêt. Miniatures de manuscrits (surtout du Nord), bois de Schongauer et plus encore de Lucas Cranach, et le grand tableau de Dresde de Dürer, ont fort influencé cette œuvre de Grünewald.

LE BRONZE ÉTRUSQUE DU MUSÉE DE TOLEDO (ÉTATS-UNIS)

par Emeline Hill Richardson

Une des acquisitions récentes les plus importantes de ce musée américain est étudiée en détail et comparée avec les autres exemples connus. C'est une statuette votive étrusque de grande beauté, la plus ancienne connue avec la toge romaine. Elle proviendrait des environs de Métaponte dans l'Italie méridionale. Malgré son origine, elle est sans aucun doute étrusque, et date en toute probabilité de 530 av. J.C. environ.

ESQUISSES ET DESSINS DE RUBENS À PROPOS D'UNE EXPOSITION RÉCENTE

par Jakob Rosenberg

Au cours de l'hiver dernier le musée Fogg de Harvard organisa une importante exposition d'esquisses et de dessins de Rubens provenant de collections privées et publiques des États-Unis. L'auteur étudie ici plusieurs œuvres présentant des problèmes d'authenticité, tout en considérant l'exposition dans son ensemble de très grande importance.

QUELQUES ŒUVRES DU GIORGIONE CONSERVÉES AUX ÉTATS-UNIS

par William E. Suida

Cet essai doit son origine à l'importante exposition du Giorgione qui eut lieu l'année dernière à Venise. L'auteur, après avoir étudié brièvement les quelques œuvres du Giorgione dans les collections américaines, insiste plus particulièrement sur le groupe de trois figures du musée de Detroit, auquel il conserve sans hésitation son attribution traditionnelle à Giorgione (la figure centrale), à Sebastiano (la femme vue

de profil; avec quelque hésitation) et au Titien (la femme en blanc).

REMBRANDT ET MANTEGNA

par Jakob Rosenberg

Le collectionneur New-yorkais Walter C. Baker a acquis récemment un dessin fort important, une *Mise au Tombeau*, que M. Rosenberg considère comme une copie de Rembrandt d'après la gravure de Mantegna. Le dessin a appartenu au 17ème siècle à Peter Lely, dont la collection, formée au milieu du siècle, fut dispersée après la mort du portraitiste. Deux autres œuvres de Rembrandt qui ont été influencées par

Mantegna sont connues: la copie d'un dessin, *La Calomnie d'Apelle* (British Museum) et *La Leçon d'Anatomie*, qui reflète l'influence du *Christ Mort* de la Brera.

UNE NOUVELLE ATTRIBUTION POUR UN DESSIN CÉLÈBRE

par Frederick Hartt

Un des plus beaux dessins des Offices, malheureusement en assez mauvais état, est le célèbre profil d'homme le plus souvent attribué à Paolo Uccello. M. Hartt rejette cette attribution pour donner le dessin à Andrea del Castagno. Ce serait donc le seul dessin de cet artiste.

RECENT IMPORTANT
ACQUISITIONS
OF AMERICAN COLLECTIONS



JOHN PASMORE, *Benjamin West's Picture Gallery* (H. 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ ")
Hartford, The Wadsworth Antheneum

BENJAMIN WEST'S PICTURE GALLERY

From an article by Charles C. Cunningham in the Wadsworth Atheneum *Bulletin*, April, 1956

Through the Sumner Fund, the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, has recently purchased a painting of particular historical importance, *Benjamin West's Picture Gallery*, by John Pasmore. Very little is known about Pasmore except that he was reputedly a pupil of West and exhibited in London from 1831 to 1845. The scene undoubtedly represents West's gallery at 14 Newman Street, Oxford Street, London, which was apparently retained by West's family for a number of years after his death. The museum's acquisition, judging from the costumes, was probably painted in the late eighteen twenties, and according to legend, many of the persons may be identified. Standing in the center in the middle ground is Pasmore himself discussing the picture on the left wall with the Duke of Queensberry seated opposite him. Beside the Duke is the Duchess and, next to her in a pink hat, her sister the Duchess of Devonshire. Wearing a tall hat and shading his eyes while examining pictures is Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1844), a leader of reform in the British parliament. The two children behind him are the daughters of the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry. Before them seated wearing a brown coat is William Cobbett (1763-1835), the political journalist and essayist who is known for his English grammar for the working classes. Conversing with him, seated opposite, wearing a green coat, is Sir Samuel Romilly

(1757-1818), English lawyer who did much to reform criminal law.

On the walls of the studio are some of West's paintings, most of which may be identified. Over the door is the portrait which Sir Thomas Lawrence painted of, and presented to, Benjamin West. In the Atheneum files is a letter dated April 5, 1910, from Castle Smith of London saying that he had inherited this portrait about 1890 from the West family, he and his father having served as solicitors to them for many years. The description given by Smith coincides with the portrait in the Pasmore painting. Its present whereabouts is not known. The large canvas on the right wall, *Death on the Pale Horse*, is in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, having been acquired by them in 1837. On the left hand side of the door is *Paul and Barnabas at Lystra*, now also in the Pennsylvania Academy, while the large picture on the left wall is *Christ Rejected* in the same collection. The painting on the right wall next to the *Death on the Pale Horse* has not yet been identified, nor have the other smaller paintings below. To the right of the door is *St. Peter's First Sermon* (identified in the Sotheby Sale as the *Judgment of Solomon*) and through the door, seen in part, is *The Ascension*.

It is curious that Pasmore is so little known since our painting, while not great art, shows an artist of considerable technical accomplishment. Aside from this, the painting is of considerable interest to the Atheneum collection in that it shows the interior of a typical picture gallery, painted about seventy years after our famous Panini, *Picture Gallery of Cardinal Valenti Gonzaga*.

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JEAN-BAPTISTE CHARDIN, *La Gouvernante* (H. 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ "; W. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ ")
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada



JEAN-BAPTISTE CHARDIN, *La Poupoyeuse* (H. 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ "; W. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ ")
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada

TWO PAINTINGS BY CHARDIN IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

Included in a group of paintings recently acquired by The National Gallery of Canada from the world famous collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein are two paintings by Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin. These represent scenes of everyday life in eighteenth century France. They are among the finest examples of the work of a painter who stood out for the qualities of simplicity and truthfulness in a century of artificiality.

La Gouvernante (*The Governess*) is a charming scene in which a small boy with queue, flared coat, breeches and buckled shoes, is sent off to school by the governess who gives his tricorne a last-minute brushing. According to a contemporary writer, Chardin made his reputation by this very picture when it was first exhibited at the Salon of 1739. The simplicity of the composition and the breadth of technique make this small canvas a masterpiece of monumentality. The details, though few, are charming: costumes, expressive faces, shuttlecock and raquet and the house of cards, the work basket, the parquet floor—all evidences of Chardin's sure but fluid brushstroke. The date of 1739 appears on the wall to the left of the doorway.

The second of the Chardin canvases, *La Pourvoyeuse* (*The Return from Market*), shows a young woman returning to the house with bread and a joint of meat. As a composition it is also a model of simplicity and effectiveness on a small scale. Besides the main figure the picture contains only still life and

a glimpse of the street where a kitchen maid talks to a soldier. Replicas of this canvas are found in several collections, but it has been noted by one authority that the freshness and crispness, the spontaneity and breadth of this version proclaim it beyond a doubt to be the original, obviously painted directly from life. It bears the date 1738 on the wall beside the door.

Both these small pictures give the essence of Chardin's style: the classic simplicity of composition which proves him to be an important link in the great French tradition of monumentality extending from Poussin in the seventeenth century to Cézanne in the nineteenth. In an age when most painters reflected the delights and artificialities of the court at Versailles, Chardin stands out as a sober, honest bourgeois.

Both Chardin canvases have an enviable pedigree as pictures. They were bought by Prince Josef Wenzel when he was Austrian ambassador in Paris, and apparently from the painter himself. They thus come to Canada from the painter's studio with an intervening period of 200 years in the Liechtenstein Collection.

A 'JUDITH' BY BOTTICELLI

From an article by Philip R. Adams in the Cincinnati Art Museum
Bulletin, March, 1956

A certain amount of discussion is bound to accompany the use of a great name, especially if the name is as great and as rare as that of Botticelli. And there was a good deal of

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ANGELO MARINALI, *Summer* (H. 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ ")
The Springfield Museum of Fine Arts



BOTTICELLI, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (H. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$; W. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$)
Cincinnati Art Museum

sprightly transatlantic controversy when the Museum announced its small wood panel of *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* in December, 1954 as "a very important example of Botticelli's work" (*una edizione molto importante dell'opera Botticelli*). These were the words of Professor Roberto Longhi, the noted Italian art historian who had technically examined the painting at the Museum's request in the spring of 1954, before the purchase was concluded.

When the *Judith* arrived in Cincinnati in the fall of 1954, ultra-violet and infra-red light, followed by x-ray photography, began immediately to confirm Roberto Longhi's technical examination. X-ray not only brought out the remains of an additional monkey on the reverse, but more importantly looked under a complete and prettified repainting of Judith's head to show a vigor of drawing that would be hard to ascribe to anyone but Botticelli. Microscopic examination by the Museum's restorer Harry Gothard added new evidence such as the use of ground gilt in the ornament on Judith's opaque gray right sleeve. When the overpaint was removed a translucent purplish-blue characteristic of Botticelli as well as traces of proper gold-leaf ornament appeared. Three tense weeks of cleaning and minimum retouching to cover occasional actual blanks in the painted surface were a most instructive art-historical experience and led the Museum's staff to wholehearted endorsement of Longhi's statement.

Professor Longhi had further written that the painting revealed "the best quality of the master's work between 1470 [the probable date of the Uffizi panel] and 1475. Moreover

one must add that this height of quality is evident in the parts where the composition is different from that of the Uffizi"; a quality of movement enhanced by showing both feet of both figures, a greater feeling of distance in the landscape beyond the battle scene, a bolder framing of the main figures by a rocky cliff-face and a generally lighter, more graceful drawing.

On December 12, 1954 the Cincinnati *Judith* was put on exhibition and reentered the public domain of scholarly dispute. Bernard Berenson wrote on February 24, 1955, "until now it has never occurred to myself or any of my colleagues to regard it as an autograph work by Botticelli. I have carefully considered all the photographic material that you put at my disposal and I remain of the same opinion still, namely, that it is a simplified and somewhat later version of the Uffizi *Judith* done not by Botticelli himself but by an excellent assistant in his studio." On April 26 Mr. Berenson added, "it is a charming picture close to Botticelli." This is a much softer impeachment than the blunt "opera di bottega" of official cataloguing. In the first place Filippino Lippi would qualify very well as "an excellent assistant," and in the second place there are not many "autograph" paintings, meaning done entirely or in major part by one artist's hand, to be found in fifteenth century painting. "Studio work" was standard operating procedure almost up to the nineteenth century. Numbers of contracts survive from fourteenth and fifteenth century Florence specifying method of payment, quality of pigments and the exact number of hours the master himself should work on the

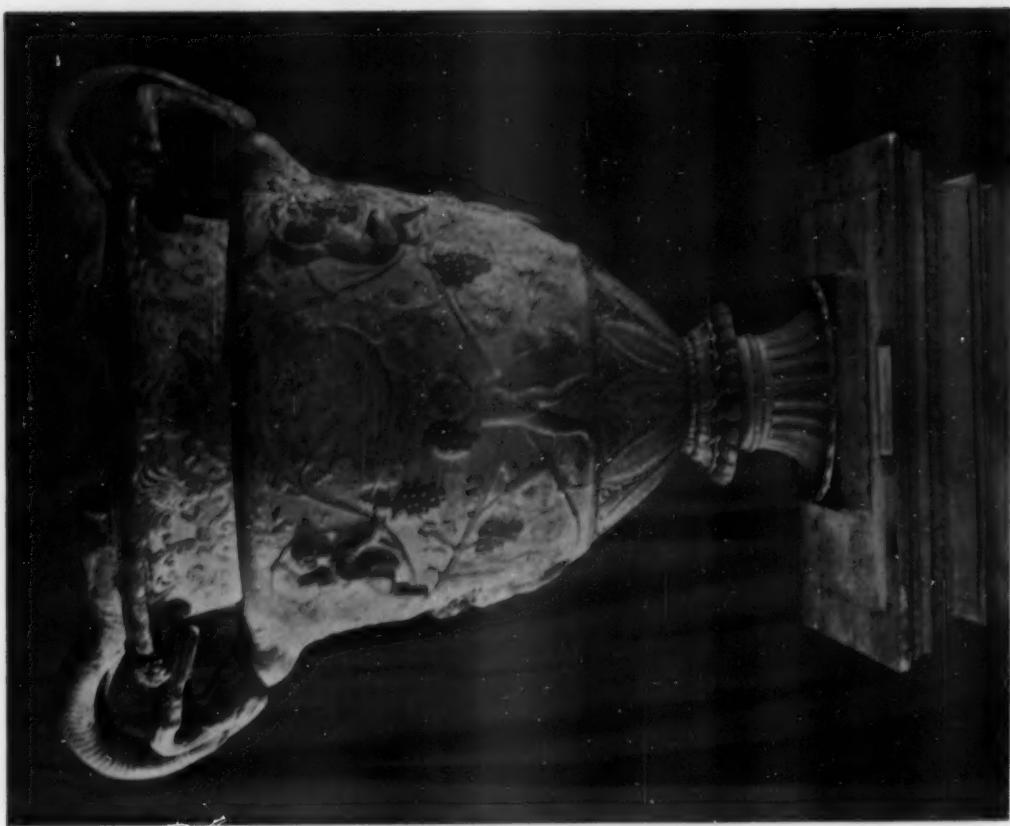
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Vase, Roman, 2nd century A. D. (H. 46")
Los Angeles County Museum

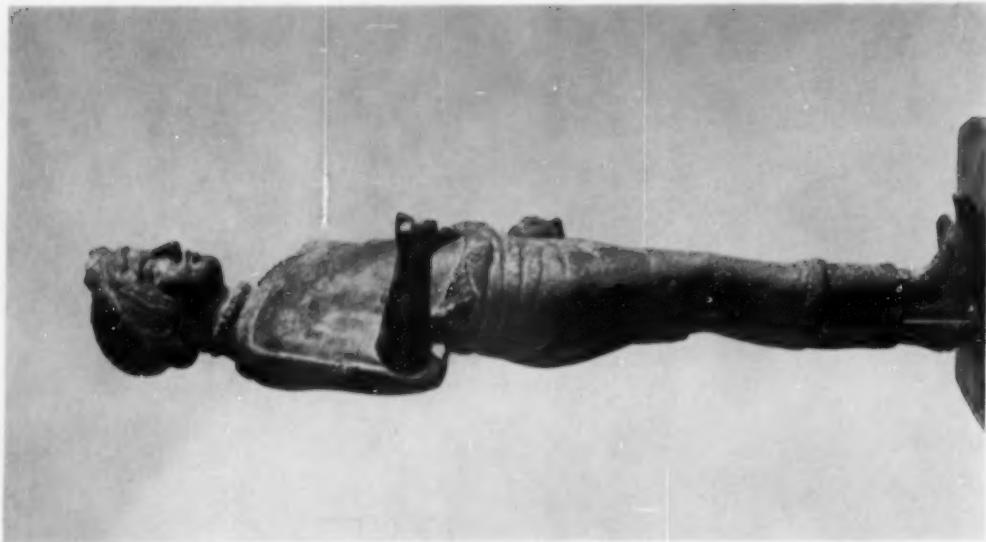


Figure of a Girl. Etruscan (450-430 B. C.) (H. 8")
Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University

painting. Such factors naturally affected the price, and figured often in the litigations dear to a city that maintained a hundred judges and over six hundred lawyers out of a population of 90,000 in 1340.

Over the months a measurable majority of scholarly opinion came to agree with the Museum's attribution. For example Henry S. Francis, the Cleveland Museum's expert Curator of Paintings, remarked after careful inspection, "Botticelli is so involved with this that he certainly cannot be left out." Perhaps that is the way all attributions should be phrased.

Finally W. G. Constable, the distinguished Curator of Painting of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, explained the improved composition by suggesting a date later than the Uffizi *Judith*, some years after this early work at a time when Botticelli was a popular master with a shop system able to handle orders for repetitions and variations. Mr. Constable remarked on the somewhat less skillful execution of the draperies and then said, "Who but Botticelli could have painted the heads and the hands?"

None of this, however, explains the authorship of the painting of two deer and two monkeys in a hilly landscape on the back, or its relationship to the *Judith*. The two paintings are at least physically related, and since well-seasoned wood panels were always in demand it seems mildly improbable that the little and quite charming animal painting would have been turned over to some other painter or studio. In January, 1955 two scholars independently commented on the striking resemblance of its landscape and

fortified-city details to similar elements emerging from a new cleaning of Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Rape of Deianira* in the Jarves Collection at Yale. There are two obscure years in Botticelli's early life, from 1467 when Fra Lippo Lippi to whom he had been apprenticed left Florence, never to return, to 1469 when Botticelli's first independent work appeared. This was the *Forteza* or *Fortitude*, the seventh in a series of Virtues painted for the Mercantile Court of Florence, the other six having been executed by the Pollaiuolo firm. Some historians argue that Botticelli was associated with Verrocchio during these two years and that the *Forteza* commission was given to him to correct a Pollaiuolo monopoly of civic contracts. Other experts conclude that Botticelli's painting of the seventh Virtue proves his connection with the Pollaiuolo brothers. Possibly the answer will ultimately be found on the back of the Cincinnati *Judith*.

David and Judith were patriotic symbols immensely popular with the small, often beleaguered but fiercely independent Italian city-states. The Book of Judith appears in the Apocrypha as a kind of patriotic parable telling how the Assyrians under their general Holofernes, a historic Persian figure, besieged the border city of Bethulia. Near the end of the siege a beautiful and wealthy widow named Judith, meaning the "Jewish woman," asked permission to go to the enemy camp, ostensibly to betray the city, and thereby "break down their stateliness by the hand of a woman." She was welcomed by the Assyrians and set the pattern of going each morning to the edge of the camp with her servant carrying ritual food in a basket. On the fourth

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day Holofernes summoned Judith to his tent. In his drunken sleep Judith beheaded him with his own sword and left the camp unsuspected, her servant carrying her gruesome trophy in the food basket. This is the moment Botticelli chose to paint more than once, his poetic sensibilities rousing to the implied but intense drama of the pale and lovely heroine gliding in victory through the dawn.

A SCULPTURE BY ANGELO MARINALI

From an article in the Springfield Museum of Fine Arts, *Bulletin*, December, 1955 and January, 1956

The wealth of the nobility in seventeenth and eighteenth century Venice is said to have been such as to allow a Prince of the House of Labia to throw into the canal a complete gold dinner service rather than bother to have it washed. But this same wealth also produced in the Veneto a general creativity rivaled only by the Renaissance itself. Opulence and splendor ruled. The painter, the architect, and the sculptor helped develop the fashion. City palaces, country villas, churches, and municipal buildings all reflected, through their ornamentation, this final flowering of Italian genius.

Not the least of the many sculptors working to fulfill the demands of an enriched citizenry were the brothers Marinali, originally of Bassano but shortly to become of Venice and the surrounding cities. Led by their elder brother Orazio (1643-1720), Francesco (?-1713?) and Angelo (1654-1702), together or singularly, produced a tremendous quantity of figures and decorations attesting well to their creative genius and popularity. However, until the publication of Dr. Carmela Tua's article in *Rivista d' Arte*, July 1935, the personalities, history and work of these men were more or less forgotten. Thus, for the most part, the following comments concerning the sculptors of the Springfield Museum's recently acquired figures of the four seasons will be based on the research and findings of Dr. Tua.

The collaborative effort among the three brothers would seem to indicate a close similarity of style, but such is not the case. Close scrutiny of photographic reproductions immediately indicates the separate characteristics and idiosyncrasies of the three men. Unquestionably the prolific Orazio, with his more monumental and calmer interpretation, was the leader. Angelo, nevertheless, is by far the more subtle and inspired with a gayer and very humanistic approach tending, indeed, to the rococo as opposed to the heavier and more baroque mode of expression inherent in all phases of Orazio's styles. As for Francesco, his work is a hybrid of the two. It vacillates first toward the interpretation of one and then to the other, depending with whom he was collaborating at the moment.

Dr. Tua has given most of her attention to the work and various styles of Orazio. However, at no time does it seem he ever achieved the grace, the refinement and the interest in delicate detail developed in the works known as solely by Angelo.

Of the four figures recently acquired by the Museum for its Horace P. Wright Collection, three—*Spring*, *Winter* and *Summer* have just such delicacy and grace, as well as other characteristics always apparent in the work of the youngest brother. The fourth figure, *Autumn*, although very close in

C. T. LOO

Chinese Art



Huang Hsiang-Chien 1609-1673

most of its workmanship and mannered elegance, is somewhat heavier in proportion and in comparison a little cumbersome. Furthermore it lacks the characteristic facial expression constantly used by Angelo. This expression is perhaps best illustrated in Angelo's *Madonna* in the Church of St. Antonio in Venice, where the tender smile and aristocratic countenance is in sharp contrast to the more peasant-like faces used by Orazio in comparable figures. A further contrast to the heaviness of form of Orazio's work is Angelo's use of attenuated hands and limbs, the latter revealed under the clinging and sinuously flowing draperies. This trait is again well shown in the Museum's figures. The strong, almost violent, contrapposto of the bodies, yet another identifying mannerism of Angelo, is also well illustrated by the Museum's *Spring*, *Winter* and *Summer* figures but to a lesser degree in that of *Autumn*.

Thus, the stylistic similarities of three of the Museum's figures to the previously known work of Angelo are such as to preclude any doubt as to their authorship. The fourth figure, *Autumn*, because of its eclectic style, such as the heaviness and solidity of Orazio, yet with something of the contrapposto and delicacy of detail of Angelo, must be attributed to Francesco.

The sculptures, approximately six feet high, are of limestone, primarily gray in tone but with areas of delicate yellow. It is similar to the material used by all three men in a variety of their commissions and was indigenous to the Venetian terra firma. The figures were formerly in the gardens of one of the villas of Prince Carlo Trivulzio of Milan.

AN IMPORTANT ANCIENT BRONZE IN THE FOGG ART MUSEUM

The most important ancient bronze ever to be purchased by Harvard's Fogg Art Museum was recently acquired through the Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing Fund of the Fogg and by contributions of Robert Waelter, David Moore Robinson, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Stafford, Frederick M. Watkins, Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Heckett, and Joseph V. Noble. This bronze is a lovely figure of a girl, standing about eight inches high, richly attired in a flowing robe and wearing a crown and a heavy necklace. Her elaborate pointed shoes were highly favored by the well-dressed Etruscans of her day. In her left hand she holds a pomegranate, regarded by the ancients as a symbol of fertility.

This extremely rare and precious work of Etruscan bronze sculpture reflects the solemn spirit of Classical art of the time of Phidias. The statue may be intended as a representation of the Etruscan goddess of love (Turan). It dates from 450-430 B. C.

The bronze, which was acquired from a private collection, is said to have been found in the great Etruscan metal working center of Populonia. Here many rich sculptures also have been found under heaps of iron slag left by the ancient miners.

THE STOWE MARBLE VASE

From an article by Ebria Feinblatt in the Los Angeles County Museum Bulletin, Fall, 1955

New attention has been directed to the Museum's remarkable marble vase from Hadrian's Villa as a result of the

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recent publication of Dr. C. Vermeule's *Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis' Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*. It has revealed that previous descriptions of the history of the piece have not always been correct in connection with its date of acquisition, and also that obscurity still surrounds its whereabouts for a period of over a half century.

Through some untraceable error, the Stowe vase was described in the records held by its previous owner, the late William Randolph Hearst, as having been brought to England from Italy in 1734. But in 1778, when Piranesi engraved the vessel in his *Vasi Candelabri Cippi Sarcophagi Tripodi Lucerne ed Ornamenti Antichi*, he described its acquisition in great detail in tribute to the taste of the purchaser, as having taken place during the latter's trip to Rome in 1774. The purchaser was George Grenville Nugent, Earl Temple (1753-1813), who in 1784 was created Marquis of Buckingham. In 1775 Grenville married in England; the vase was thus brought to Stowe sometime in 1774.

In 1848 occurred the great auction on the premises of the estate, the entire proceedings of which were published in the priced and annotated Stowe Catalogue. Our vase was then sold for £ 23-2-0 to Town and Emanuel. The next record of it is found in the catalogue of the Sir George Donaldson Sale of 1925, where it is reproduced on the cover and described in Lot 507 as having been purchased by Sir George at Stowe in the sale of 1905.

How can we account for this apparent contradiction, and what happened to the vase between its purchase by Town and Emanuel in 1848 and its resale at Stowe in 1905? The

only conjecture at present, pending further evidence, is that the vase was subsequently re-acquired by the family and retained on the estate until the sale of 1905.

Responsible for the original discovery of the vase was the Scots artist, antiquarian and dealer, Gavin Hamilton, who in 1769 began to excavate Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli in a search for antiquities. It was uncovered in the course of Hamilton's first excavation; a second was undertaken in 1771.

The vase, which is of exceptional taste and beauty, is a volute crater with double handles, measuring 46 inches in height. At the time of its engraving by Piranesi it stood upon a marble base ornamented with winged genii holding torches and supporting a festoon of fruit over a miniature altar; a flying swan was represented above the swag. In the Stowe Catalogue, however, the vase was described as having a white marble pedestal, quite likely the present one, which is only four inches lower than the vessel itself.

The body is ornamented in high relief with erotes gathering grapes among trailing vines. Exceptional in the decorative sense are the fantastic handles which Piranesi called *Pesci marini squamosi*, but which are more accurately simplified as serpents. The employment of handles in the form of snakes enforces the Bacchic significance of the decoration, the snake in its connotation of death and resurrection having been symbolic of the god, and appearing frequently in Bacchic subjects represented on sarcophagi.

In our vase the snakes are humped over the vine branches to which they are joined in their tails by acanthus leaves, the branches attached to the neck, with foliage reaching the rim.

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The heads of the snakes rest on the rim which has a raised bead pattern over the egg-and-dart ornamentation of the lip. The neck is ornamented with a honeysuckle pattern; the foot is conventionally fluted. The vase has been considerably restored, quite conceivably by Piranesi, who played a part in its acquisition; missing areas under the rim and handles, however, have only been patched with plaster. Among the marble vases which remain from Roman Imperial times, several are distinguished by attractive and interesting handles, but the Stowe crater appears unique in this respect.

Dr. Vermeule has established the period of the execution of our vase as Antonine (ca. 140-180). The extensive use of the drill in the erotes' hair, in the leaves and the grape clusters, as well as the depth of the relief of the figures, all bespeak the height of illusionism of the Antonine age. Other features, the revival of Hellenistic motifs and the prominence of the erotes, coincide with certain dominant characteristics of Antonine art. But very similar treatment of a corresponding vine and grape motif is found in a marble pillar from Hadrian's Villa, now in the Vatican, assignable to the Severan period.

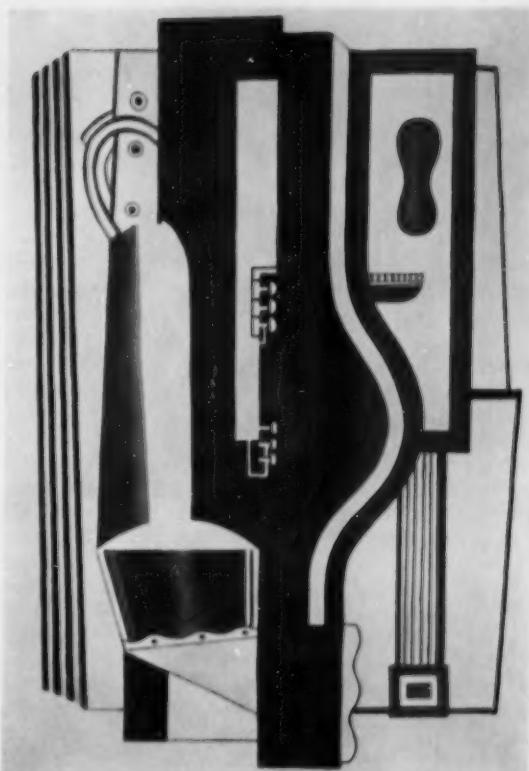


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Léger. Musical instruments, 1926. 51 x 35"

(Douglas Cooper, page 99)

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

Encyclopedia of Painting. Edited by Bernard S. Myers. New York, Crown Publishers, Inc., 1955. 1000 illus. with 216 in color. \$10.95.

The checking of a representative number of references in this volume gives one the feeling that they have been carefully prepared by writers who have not only adequate knowledge, but sensitivity to their subjects which is often rather beautifully expressed in the condensed but amazingly comprehensive articles. As any good encyclopedia should be, this one is interesting to read. What is perhaps more important, I have read nothing in it against which the accusation could be brought that it is misleading. The editor and his associates have generally adopted the safe method of sticking close to fact in the cases of contemporary painters or problematic figures, and inserting critical comment only where it is justified by a large body of knowledge and sufficient historical perspective.

The *Encyclopedia* includes individual articles on even obscure artists, covering the entire range of Western and Oriental painting, definitions of technical terms, historical surveys of the main schools and styles of all periods, headings and cross references of the titles of famous pictures and notations of American and European collections.

Illustrations are used lavishly and, for the most part, are characteristic of the painters they represent. Considering the cost of the volume, it probably should surprise nobody that the halftones are not always clear, that the many color plates are extremely unreliable, however much the color spots tend to liven up the page.

This is a useful book and one that can be referred to with some sense of security.

A. F. PAGE
The Detroit Institute of Arts

JEAN EHRMANN, *Antoine Caron, Peintre à la Cour des Valois, 1521-1599*. Genève, Librairie Droz; Lille, Librairie Girard, 1955. 55 pp. bound text; 32 loose-leaf pls.

Mr. Ehrmann has already, in the past few years, published a number of excellent short articles (in the *Warburg Journal*, 1945, and *The Burlington*, 1950, among others) on the works of this little-known painter. The present volume is the final result of careful research and study, and evidently will remain the definitive work on the artist. Mr. Ehrmann, in spite of his obvious admiration and love for Caron, does not claim



Christ in Emmaus
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Pen, bistre & wash, 23 x 21 cm.

Collections
Sir Joshua Reynolds
William Esdale

Bibliography
Valentiner, Kl. d. K. Vol. II, p. 7
Benesch, Vol. III, No. 585

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for him more than his due: reading through this slender volume we get the impression that Caron was a talented, eclectic mannerist artist, and little more. This shows on Mr. Ehrmann's part much restraint and logic, and he is to be praised for his moderation. But the book deserves other forms of praise. The long descriptions of Caron's paintings (of which not more than a dozen or so are known) are excellent and useful, since the paintings are full of obscure literary allusions. More important still, the author succeeds in giving his reader the flavor of the period, the time of Catherine de' Medici and Henri III. Finally, Mr. Ehrmann discusses several unpublished works by Caron, three important drawings which he reproduces, along with the rest of Caron's known *œuvre* (except his more famous cartoons), in the second section of his work. The book concludes with several appendices, including a precious list of paintings attributed to the painter, but rejected by the author, and a long note on the history of "Les Tableaux des Massacres du Triumvirat" so popular in the sixteenth century and one of Caron's favorite subjects.

HENRY SCHAEFER-SIMMERN, *Sculpture in Europe Today*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1955. 33 pp. text, 128 pls. \$8.50.

Considering the strained efforts of contemporary writers to "intellectualize the nature of visual arts", Mr. Schaefer-



Lady Owen by Sir Thomas Lawrence. Oil on canvas, 51 x 41, Painted 1829. Recorded Armstrong page 156. Col: Sir Hugh Owen, Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, Eugene Kramer.

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Simmern has devoted the larger part of his book to a collection of photographs of sculpture. Anyone who has tried to talk the lay public into real feeling for an unfamiliar mode of expression must agree with this author that words are unsatisfactory as a basic means of understanding modern painting and sculpture. Probably, verbal explanations are not basic at all and become so only after the organism and spirit of the human being has made contact by visual means with the organism and spirit of the art work. The author does not say this but I infer it from the position he has taken. We are asked to rely most heavily on what our eyes can gather from the illustrations, but for some reason—perhaps because he was preparing a book and felt obliged to put some of his reactions in literary form—Mr. Schaefer-Simmern slipped into the very cul-de-sac of which he warns. His analyses of several of the illustrated pieces are no more esoteric than many others in general circulation, but I think they prove his point in that they must be difficult for anyone who has not a clear "feeling" for what he is talking about in the first place.

The average photograph is little more than a record of a work in three dimensions. One must say that these photographs are seldom more than average and that their reproduction is not especially good. Many are guilty of the glaring lights and voracious darks that swallow up any subtleties of texture and form that often add so much to the quality of a work.

One is tempted to look at these photographs while bearing in mind something like the Third Biennial of Modern Sculpture that the City of Antwerp organized this past

summer in its beautiful Middelheimpark. It is in such a place that Giacomo Manzù emerges as a master of his medium. In this superb setting Henri Laurens' bulbous, distorted forms revealed themselves as majestic and fascinating to a degree that I, for one, had not fully recognized. This observation is perhaps another way of saying that the work itself must speak before the word-analysis acquires meaning.

Mr. Schaefer-Simmern's text includes a section of helpful-for-reference biographical notes and his Introductory Remarks are pertinent and clearly stated. He has arranged the photographs so that the eye may begin with those sculptors whose work is closely related to the Classical tradition and proceed through increasingly abstract forms to the constructivists. The selection seems to emphasize the decorative approach rather than pointing up many of the esthetic theories and problems of construction with which some have wrestled (Picasso is represented by three amusing animals, nothing that would suggest cubism or transliteration of form; Matisse—whose sculpture was not basically decorative—is omitted), but it is pleasant to look at things that have been consistently chosen. One is surely grateful to learn of several sculptors not yet well known in America, and to be able to measure this extensive view of European work against what is happening at home.

A. F. PAGE
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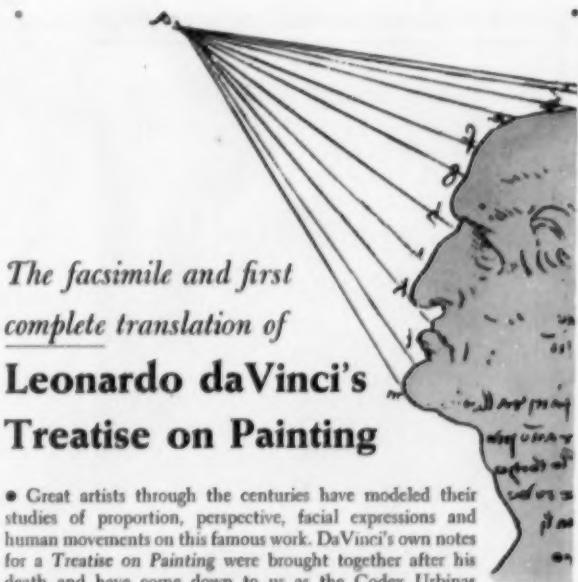


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